Anti-Slavery Standard

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, EDITOR.

Without Concealment---Without Compromise.

EDMUND QUINCY, JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, COR. EDITORS.

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The Southern Press.

THE REACTION OF ABOLITION.

A BILL has been introduced into the House of Representatives of the Pennsylvania Legislature to prohibit the entrance hereafter of any negro or mulatto into that Commonwealth. It imposes the penalty of imprisonment upon all such persons entering the State, and a fine of fifty to one hundred dollars upon any person employing, or otherwise encouraging, negroes or mulattoes to come to or remain in the State. The scenes at Christiana, and the mockery of the trials for the outrages then committed, which have since taken place, are precipitating the adoption of a policy which the free States will soon find indispensable to their own domestic peace. The tendency of the movements of abolitionism, in all its shades, is towards reaction upon the non-slaveholding States. It makes them, in the first place, theatres of such contentions as the insane opposition to the recapture of fugitives stimulates in direct conflict with the obligations of the constitution and the paramount law; and it draws into their borders a class of population utterly worthless as citizens, to be a nuisance and a burthen. The evil has already grown to such magnitude that several of the Western States have legislated to exclude Africans and their descendants entirely, and on several occasions it has attempted to expel the whole race.

Pennsylvania may not be prepared yet to go as far as this bill proposes. The necessity may not be sufficiently demonstrated yet. The suggestion is, however, a sign of what is working in the public mind, and will produce action, at some day not remote, unless a wiser course of conduct be adopted by those who call themselves the friends of the black, yet agitate so as to array against him the most powerful elements of hostility. They entice him into conflicts with the law, by which the peace of the State is disturbed, its laws obstructed or broken, and its character debased, and thus bring him into odium as a dangerous and troublesome resident with all orderly and law-abiding citizens.

In his least obstrusive form he is sufficiently repulsive to the tone of public sentiment, an object of fixed prejudice, looked upon with dislike as idle and vicious, and tolerated rather than received or encouraged as a resident anywhere. They make him a disorderly rioter, and the tool of profligate agitators by whom the gravest national interests are put into jeopardy. It is not at all surprising that a feeling exists to get rid of such a source of weakness and discord, and to bar it out for the future by all possible means. This feeling being established in fact, and growing constantly, as a motive for action, abolitionism furnished it with further strength. Every slave seduced from his master, or liberated without provision for transportation out of the country, adds to the number of this dangerous and suspected class. The necessity of self-protection increases with every step in advance which abolitionism makes. Pennsylvania, exposed by its contiguity along its whole Southern border to slave States, will feel most severely the pressure of the necessity; and we have no doubt that it will so exhibit itself before many years that action cannot be avoided or defined.

What is to become of the unhappy race thus driven from place to place until at last all are closed against them, is a moral problem which ought to interest deeply the sincere philanthropists—not those who in support of a wild abstraction are separating them more and more widely from the sympathies of the nation, converting them into objects of antipathy and suspicion; tools of discord and sources of national weakness and dissension; and closing against them the doors of every possible refuge on the continent. In the reflections upon this growing state of feeling in the free States, and the consequences which it will inevitably entail on the poor victims of this sentimental charlatanism or remorseless fraud, is there not an argument, irresistible in its appeals to the true humanity of the North, to discourage, denounce and oppose the cruel agitators who are pushing this miserable people on to such a wretched fate? Setting aside questions of political compact and legal duty, the public morals of abstinence from aggression upon the rights of others, and of fidelity to the obligations of the highest law, and dealing with this black question as one of expediency, for the securing of the greatest amount of good to the special objects of solicitude, it seems to us that the enlightened judgment of the North must begin at last to see that abolitionism is not a crime only, but a blunder, by which the blacks will be the severest sufferers indeed, but which will retaliate heavily and bitterly on the meddling States.—*New Orleans Picayune.*

HIGHER LAW IN THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

EVER since the settlement of our country, mobs have, from time to time, risen to suppress what they considered a nuisance. It has frequently happened that, when some diabolical outrage has happened, people, instead of waiting on the slow process of the law, have risen in their fury and executed summary justice on the offenders. On all such occasions, there were thousands of the most reflecting men who deplored the mobs, because they foresaw that, if the spirit which led to them were encouraged, the result would be a growing disrespect for law.

There is no proposition truer than that in a free government the observance of the laws is indispensable to its purity and preservation. Liberty rests on law, and when law is trampled on the cause of liberty of necessity must suffer. There can be no liberty where law is set at naught with impunity. Whenever the people become so reckless and so unwise as to array themselves as physical resistants against law, then is public liberty in danger. If laws are oppressive or unjust, there is a constitutional mode for their alteration or abolishment. If the malcontents cannot effect alterations in the laws in a constitutional manner—if public sentiment is so largely in favour of a continuance of law as it is—then let them submit as becomes good citizens to unavoidable necessity. No blame can attach to them if they wage a reasonable warfare against laws that they cannot approve, but a factious, mobbish opposition is hostile to the spirit of our Government, and will not be countenanced by any but those who are not true and sagacious friends of civil liberty. The opponents of law may lull their tender consciences if the majority is unwilling to carry out such "reforms" as they, the few, propose. No one asks an enemy of the fugitive slave law to assist in capturing slaves or to have any hand in returning fugitives to a state of bondage; all that they are requested to do is to mind their own business and suffer the law to be executed.

Within the last few years a restless and reckless spirit of insubordination has greatly increased in this country. "Higher law" champions have sprung up in the North and in the South, who, when laws do not suit their whims, do not hesitate to violate them. This spirit has manifested itself in numerous outrages, and is, we fear, greatly on the increase. It ought to be firmly met in all cases and put down if possible. The Northern man who advocates physical resistance to the fugitive slave law, and who himself, when occasion offers, engages in actual physical conflict with the officers of law, ought certainly to be severely punished. So also the Southerner who counsels resistance to the laws ought to be regarded as a traitor, and whenever he raises his hand in actual hostility to the law he ought to be subjected to the utmost rigor of the law.

Now if the opponent of the fugitive slave law, or the anti-renter of the North, ought to be punished because of his hostility to law, ought not the breaker of law in the South also to be punished?

In some sections of South Carolina there are vigilance committees composed of secessionists. Three persons residing in the vicinity of Lexington court house in that State have lately been arraigned before that committee charged with unsoundness of opinion in relation to the policy and position of South Carolina. One of these persons was a Mr. Spire, who was charged with the henious crime of having declared that, if the State seceded from the Union, he would emigrate and go to some Northern State. The charge was not fully proved, and Mr. Spire was left off on certain stringent conditions. Mr. Wise was banished from the State, but he abjured his errors and was permitted to remain "under the inspection and direction of the committee." The third case had not been disposed of when last heard from.

Every one must condemn the infernal presumption of a squad of people who through their vigilance committees undertake to hold every man responsible to them for his opinions. The laws of the land are in a state of suspension, and a most diabolical and irresponsible despotism is established to which the best men are subjected. Scoundrels of course easily evade the terrors of such despotism, while conscientious men may suffer. Such procedures are akin to those of the gloomy officers of the inquisition, who arrested men on suspicion and inflicted on them such punishment for "unsoundness of opinions" as they thought necessary. Persons and property are unsafe when such tribunals are suffered to exist, and to call the men who sustain them republicans is to utter an infamous libel on the name of republicanism.

In Virginia, too, there recently occurred a case resulting from the same wretched spirit. A committee in Grayson county invaded the plantation of a man suspected of Abolitionism, caught him, tied him to one of his own trees, and proceeded to lash him until, his terrors and his agonies becoming insupportable, he promised to abjure his opinions, dispose of his land and negroes, and leave the State! We do not know what kind of opinions this man entertains; but if they were incendiary, and he was in the habit of uttering them, the law was at hand to apply to the case. If he merely entertained Anti-Slavery sentiments, and was free in the expression of them, he was guilty of no crime. A majority of the best and wisest men in Virginia have always regarded Slavery as a curse. Are such men, if they open their mouths on this subject, to be whipped and banished? Washington, Jefferson, Henry, Madison, Wythe, Monroe, and the best men Virginia ever nourished on her bosom were ardent Anti-Slavery men and frequently talked and wrote against the institution in a proper spirit. Why were they not tied and whipped and banished?

Such a course of opposition to Abolitionism in a slaveholding State is utterly impolitic, to say the least of it. Such persecution always defeats itself. The whipping of one slaveholder for Abolitionism will cause thousands of those slaveholders who entertain similar sentiments to sympathize with him and to do precisely what he was punished for doing. In this State it is well known that there are a very large number of Anti-Slavery men. In 1849, those men nominated tickets in only one-fourth of the counties of the State, and, notwithstanding the urgent appeals made to them by both political parties to abandon their separate organization, yet they polled over ten thousand votes. Notwithstanding the very large number of Anti-Slavery men in Kentucky, we have never heard of any one of them being guilty of instigating a spirit of insubordination among the slaves. These men do not conceal their opinions, but express them publicly and privately as they please, and no one pretends that injury results therefrom. Suppose the pro-slavery men in this State were to act as the men in Grayson county, Virginia, acted, what would be the result? Obviously a state of warfare would be engendered in which the Slavery and Anti-Slavery men would be arrayed in hostile and perhaps murderous attitude against each other.

We contend for law in all cases. We are utterly opposed to all violations of law for any and all pretexts, in any and all sections. Occasionally there happens a case of such infernal character that the "wild justice" of the people is not greatly misapplied, but nobody can even justify such cases. If a fanatic were to persuade slaves to rise and murder their master, no one would shed tears over any fate, however summary, which might overtake him. But the true policy, especially for all men of property, is to espouse an undeviating observance of law. When law is found insufficient for the protection of the community, let the law be changed so as to render it sufficient. Any other course is fatal to men of property, particularly if that property consist of slaves.—*Louisville (Ky.) Journal.*

P. S. WHITE.

ANNEXED will be found a communication from this gentleman (in reference to the Jones' letter), addressed to the Hon. J. B. O'NEALL, who furnished it for publication in the *State Rights Republican.* We are pleased to learn by it that Mr. JONES was altogether in error in his suppositions.—*Fairfield (S. C.) Herald.*

From the State Rights Republican.

P. S. WHITE, ESQ.: The following letter from this gentleman, addressed to Judge O'Neall, which was handed us at a late hour last night, we very cheerfully lay before our readers. As we were instrumental in circulating the charge, through the medium of our paper, we deem it but an act of justice to do so, and we feel assured that our brethren of the press who published Mr. Jones' letter will do the same:

EDGEFIELD, Feb. 23, 1852.

Dear Sir: Circumstances have made it prudent, I think, that I should not fill the appointment at Greenwood. A man by the name of Jones has published in the paper at this place a long article to prove me an Abolitionist. On my arrival here, he has come to the conclusion that he was most wonderfully mistaken, and will atone for the wrong he has done, in the next issue of the paper. The citizens here, rumdrinkers and all, are so incensed against him that, if his apology is not sufficiently full, they will publish him over their signatures individually.

Now, as the paper in which his charges were published, is extensively taken at Greenwood; and as the next issue will not have reached them before the time of my appointment, I think it best to give them two or three more talks here, and to visit Greenwood at some other more propitious period. Besides, the citizens here are so very anxious that I should give them a few more lectures, representing as they do, and I think truly, the almost unparalleled excesses of this place, that I think I could not do more good anywhere.

I hold it almost a crime to disappoint people; but I think a disappointment in this case pardonable, as there is a strong probability that I would have but a small number to talk to, and, even then, a part of that talk to consist of an explanation of foreign matter.

On leaving here en route for Columbia, I will give them another talk at Hamburg.

Yours as ever, P. S. WHITE.

I wish you would do me the favour to say, on my authority, wherever the subject is mentioned, that any assertion as to my having acted in any Abolition movement, or sympathized with it, or countenanced it, or ever expect to do either, is unwarranted by any expression of mine, oral or written.

From the Edgefield Advertiser, 26th ult.

MR. WHITE, THE TEMPERANCE LECTURER.

We refer our readers to Mr. Jones' communication, in this issue of our paper, in reference to the charges made by him against Mr. Phillip S. White, in our last number. It will be seen that Mr. J. is satisfied that he did Mr. W. injustice.

Having once referred to the circumstances ourself, in something of a precautionary style, it is but justice to state here that Mr. White, as we learn, has established his guiltlessness of the charges preferred against him to the general satisfaction of this community. As a proof of this, we may add that he has lectured amongst us several times to large and gratified audiences.

Thus much we would feel it our duty to say for any stranger under similar circumstances.

MR. EDITOR: In your paper of last Thursday, I charged Philip S. White with having asserted, on board the steamer Sliego, in her passage from Nashville to Paduca, that "Slavery was an evil and a curse."

I have since had an interview with that gentleman, in which he admits that he used the words, but says that they were used in reference to Slavery and to the depreciation of slave labour on the borders of his own State (Kentucky), which were contiguous to Indiana and Ohio. That the facilities of escape from one to the other, had made it so. But that nothing was farther from his thoughts than the remotest intention of applying it to Slavery at large, or of creating a prejudice against the institution in which he had been reared and educated, and in which he and all his family had so long participated. The conversation had been commenced fifteen or twenty minutes before I came up and participated; and Mr. White says that the express allusions to Kentucky and those definite remarks which connected the whole conversation with that State, were used in the first part of said conversation.

Now, the object of this communication is to say that, as a slaveholder myself, from all the circumstances of a review of that trip, I am perfectly satisfied with Mr. White's explanation. And I am more inclined to do so, since remembering that Mr. Paul, the gentleman alluded to in my former communication said to me, after he had expressed his objection to Mr. White's remarks, that, in a subsequent conversation with Mr. White, he was satisfied with Mr. White's explanation. GEO. W. JONES.

EMANCIPATION.

MR. EDITOR: Within the last few weeks, I have noticed in your paper several disrespectful, not to say contemptuous, allusions to the Emancipation party of Kentucky. These allusions are to be found in the communications of your correspondents, and not in your editorial remarks.

Sometimes the party is represented as vanquished, prostrated, dead. If so, I suggest that there is not much magnanimity in triumphing over it. My object, Mr. Editor, in this communication is, to ascertain from you, or some of your correspondents, whether it is the policy of the Whigs of the State to proscribe the Emancipationists. I have seen it stated, that Judge Underwood's emancipation sentiments precluded the possibility of his re-election to the United States Senate. I have heard intelligent gentlemen say, also, that Mr. Crittenden could not be elected, because he was suspected of favouring the Emancipation heresy. If this be true, suppose I inquire how much Kentucky has gained in the election of Messrs. Dixon and Thompson over Messrs. Underwood and Crittenden? Will the former gentlemen ever occupy the elevated position in the Senate which has been accorded to the latter? To ask this question is to answer it. If Messrs. Dixon and Thompson have been elected because they are pro-slavery men, and because it is the Whig policy to promote such, I am very much inclined to question the favourable operation of the policy. For I may say, and you, Mr. Editor, doubtless know the fact, that there is among the Whigs (pro-slavery men included) great dissatisfaction at the election of Messrs. Dixon and Thompson. I have not heard a single man express gratification at the result, and I have heard many speak of it. I refer to the "bone and sinew" of the community. I know Frankfort letter writers would have it believed that all is just as the people would have it, but letter-writers may mistake the popular feeling.

The question recurs—are Emancipationists to be proscribed? If so, the Whig party is ruined. About nine-tenths of the Emancipationists are Whigs, and would, if respectfully treated, act with the Whig party. But if they are to be cast off as unworthy of the honours and emoluments of office, no rational calculation can be made on their co-operation. Suppose, then, they in future take no part in the politics of the State. The result will be that the Democrats will have a decided majority; or suppose the Emancipationists feel compelled by the proscription policy of the Whigs to organize their party, and run candidates for the different State offices. Let them, for example, run Judge Underwood for Governor, and Dr. N. J. Breckenridge for Superintendent of Public Instruction. Let these gentlemen canvass the State, discussing the Slavery question—and where would the Whig party be then? There would be no hope of its success. The Democrats would triumph for a time, and it is possible that in less than ten years the Governor of the State would be an Emancipationist. Be this as it might, the Whig party in the State would be numbered among the things that were.

I suggest, Mr. Editor, that it is the best policy for the Whigs to treat the Emancipationists with respect; for whether we think so or not, the destiny of the Whig party in Kentucky is in the hands of the Emancipationists. They can perpetuate the former triumphs of the party, or decree that there shall be no future triumphs.

We can make nothing by calling Emancipationists Abolitionists. All sensible men know that this is not true. The ignorant alone can be imposed on in this way; and when they detect the imposition, they will naturally sympathize with those they considered to have been slandered. "Honesty is the best policy." It is a matter of no consequence, Mr. Editor, to your readers, whether I am a pro-slavery man or an emancipationist.

Having acted for many years with the Whig party, I beg leave to subscribe myself A WHIG.

—*Louisville (Ky.) Courier.*

FREE BLACKS OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE free blacks of the United States now constitute a large class of our population, and they are yet increasing, if not in the same ratio with other classes, yet with steady steps. If the laws of manumission were abolished in all the slave States, and if the fugitive slaves could be always recovered with certainty, the free blacks would cease to progress in numbers, for their vicious and improvident habits are such as to check the laws of procreation. But such is not the state of the laws and of the facts, and the inquiry what is to become of the increasing free black population of the Union? is assuming a prominence and importance imperatively demanding early consideration and discreet decision. In the year 1840 the number of them in Virginia was 49,852, in Maryland 62,020, and in Tennessee 5,224, making a total of 386,245 in these three States only. In the year 1850 the number in Virginia was 50,000, in Maryland 73,158, and in Tennessee 6,271, making a total of 500,000, and showing an increase in ten years of 113,755. They have increased also in the Northern States, but not in so great a ratio. In Kentucky the increase has probably exceeded that in the States named. In the extreme Southern States it has not been so much, but still considerable.

Since 1840, the increase of the numbers of the slaves has also been considerable. In that year the whole number in the United States was 2,487,355, and in 1850 the whole number was 3,070,734, showing an increase in ten years of 583,379. Such are the relative proportions of these classes of population, and of their progress in numbers—the question respecting those who are slaves is already settled by the Constitution—but what is to be done with the free blacks? It is but too plain that they cannot remain in this country. Their position, their influence, their relation to other classes, their influence and their character, all forbid it, and the fact is beginning to be evidenced by the legislation of those States which excludes them, and which is as sure to be imitated by others as the seasons are to succeed each other. They are the disturbing element in our political system. At the North they aid in the escape of fugitive slaves, and become the instruments in the hands of the Abolitionists to work out their nefarious purposes. The late outrage at Christiana, Pennsylvania, was caused by free negroes, instigated by their abolition allies. If the free blacks were removed from the North, our slaves would have no inducement to attempt to escape, because they would then be easily detected, as they would have no one to shelter them; and if any negro was seen at the North, it would be known instantly that he was a fugitive. As it now is, it is difficult to distinguish the fugitive slave from the free negro. Let them be removed, and the great temptation to escape on the part of the slaves at the South would be taken away. It is, therefore, the interest of the white race that the free negroes should be taken out of this country, because they cause all the riots and disturbances which have lately taken place in attempting to enforce the Fugitive Slave Law. It is also the interest of the free negroes themselves, that they should be removed, because at the North they are a degraded race, deprived of all social and political privileges, and fast losing all means of support and livelihood. The emigrants from foreign countries are rapidly ousting the free negroes from the employment upon which they formerly depended for a scanty and precarious existence. The negroes cannot come into successful competition with the white men, and therefore they are sinking rapidly to a state of utter destitution and want.

It is in vain that the Abolitionists say that their degradation is owing to the oppressions heaped upon them by the white race. With equal political and even social privileges, the cause we have assigned would forever keep them at the bottom of the social edifice. It is an inflexible law of nature, against which legislation, even backed by the force of public opinion, would contend to no purpose. That the causes assigned by the Abolitionists aggravate the evils under which they are doomed to live, may be readily admitted, but this exclusion from equal, social and political privileges, they will always have to contend with in this country. The black race never will, and in our judgment never should, be placed upon an equality with the white race, in point of social and political privileges. The two races, we are firmly convinced, can never live together, unless the black race is in a state of Slavery. We have come to this conclusion after a thorough, and, we believe, impartial examination of the subject. But the Abolitionists are mistaken in attributing the want and degradation of the free negroes at the north to their being deprived of political and social equality with the whites. The cause lies still deeper; it is their inability to compete with white labour, even if they possessed the same privileges in every respect. In this country the negro race must remain a degraded one, both in the north and in the south, though their condition in a state of Slavery is much better than it was before they were brought to this country. What then is to be done with them? If they are susceptible of reaching a high degree of civilization, it must be in a country where they will not feel the withering influence of white competition. In Liberia they may enjoy, unmolested, all social and political privileges, and be, in reality, what they are in the Northern States only in name, free. Freedom, without the enjoyment of a freeman's privileges, is but an empty sound. Whether they are, under any circumstances, capable of enjoying freedom is a matter of great doubt. The experiment of the Liberian republic is to settle that question. If they fail there, it is useless longer to think of civilizing or improving the negro race, except in a state of Slavery. Everything is favourable to their success in Liberia, and a failure there will be conclusive as to their incapacity to govern themselves. It is to be hoped, for the sake of our own country, that that experiment may prove successful.—*St. Louis (Mo.) Times.*

MANAGEMENT OF NEGROES.

J. D. B. DEBOW, ESQ.: Your number for June contains an article upon this subject, and, whilst I agree with the writer in the main, I have also some notions of my own, which you are at liberty to use.

The public may desire to know the age of the writer, the length of time he has been managing negroes, and how long he has tried the management he recommends. It is sufficient to say, I have had the control of negroes, in and out of the field, for thirty years, and have been carrying out my present plan, and improving it gradually, for twenty years.

I do not deem it needful to follow "A Planter," nor shall I strike a blow at book-farming or theories, as I am an advocate for both, believing that even an error has its advantages, as it will frequently elicit inquiry and a good article in reply, whereas a statement of facts will pass unnoticed.

Houseing for negroes should be good; each family should have a house, 16 by 18 feet, in the clear, plank floor, brick chimney, shingle roof; floor, elevated two feet above the earth. There should be no loft, no place to stow away anything, but pins to hang clothes on. Each house should be provided with a bedstead, cotton mattresses and sufficient bed clothes for comfort for the heads of the family, and also for the young ones.

Clothing should be sufficient, but of no set quantity, as all will use, or waste what is given, and many be no better clad with four suits than others with two. I know families that never give more than two suits, and their servants are always neater than others with even four.

My rule is, for winter, a lindsey suit, one shirt of best towelling, one hat, one pair of shoes, a good blanket, costing $2 to $2.50, every other year (or I prefer, after trying three years, a comfort). In the summer, two shirts, two pair pants, and one straw hat. Several of my negroes will require two pair of pants for winter, and occasionally even a third pair, depending mostly upon the material. Others require another shirt and a third pair of pants for summer. I seldom give two pair of shoes.

Food is cooked by a woman, who has the children under her charge. I do not regard it as good economy, to say nothing of any feeling, to require negroes to do any cooking after their day's labour is over.

The food is given out daily, a half pound to each hand that goes to the field, large and small, water carriers and all; bread and vegetables without stint, the latter prepared in my own garden, and dealt out to the best advantage, endeavouring to have something every day in the year. I think four pounds of clear meat is too much. I have negroes here that have had only a half pound each for 20 years, and they bid fair to outlive their master, who occasionally forgets his duty, and will be a gourmand. I practice on the plan that all of us would be better to be restrained, and that health is best subserved by not over-eating.

My cook would make cotton enough to give the extra one pound. The labour in making the vegetables would make another pound. I say this to show I do not dole out half a pound per day from parsimony.

My hours of labour, commencing with pitching my crop, is from daylight until 12 M.; all hands then come in and remain until 2 o'clock, P. M., then back to the field until dark. Some time in May, we prolong the rest three hours; and if a very hot day, even four hours. Breakfast is eaten in the field, half an hour to an hour being given; or they eat and go to work without being driven in and out—all stopping when my driver is ready.

I give all females half of every Saturday to wash and clean up, my cook washing for young men and boys through the week. The cabins are scoured once a week, swept out every day, and beds made up at noon in summer, by daylight in winter. In the winter, breakfast is eaten before going to work, and dinner is carried to the hands.

I do not punish often, but I seldom let an offence pass, making a lumping settlement, and then correct for the servant's remembrance. I find it better to whip very little. Young ones being rather treacherous in their memory, pulling an ear, or a sound box, will bring every thing right. I am almost afraid I will subject myself to the "chimney corner theorist's" animadversion, if I say more, but I will risk it. Put up a hewed log house, with a good substantial door, lock and key, story twelve feet high, logs across above, so as to make a regular built jail. Have air holes near the ceiling well protected by iron bars. The first negro that steals, or runs away, or fights, or who is hard to manage in order to get a day's work, must be locked up every night, as soon as he comes in from work, and turned out next morning; kept up every Sunday. Negroes are gregarious; they dread solitariness, and to be deprived from the little weekly dances and chit chat. They will work to death rather than be shut up. I know the advantage, though I have no jail, my house being a similar one, yet used for other purposes.

I have a fiddle in my quarters; and though some of my good old brethren in the church would think hard of me, yet I allow dancing; ay, I buy the fiddle and encourage it, by giving the boys occasionally a big supper.

I have no overseer, and do not manage so scientifically as those who are able to lay down rules; yet I endeavour to manage so that myself, family and negroes may take pleasure and delight in our relations.

It is not possible in my usual crude way to give my whole plans, but enough is probably said. I permit no night work, except feeding the stock and weighing cotton. No work of any kind at noon, unless to clean out cabins, and bathe the children when nursing, not even washing their clothes.

I require every servant to be present each Sabbath morning and Sabbath evening at family prayers. In the evening, the master or sometimes a visitor, if a professor, expounds the chapter read. Thus my servants hear 100 to 200 chapters read each year any how. One of my servants, a professor, is sometimes called on to close our exercises with prayer.

Owning but few slaves, I am probably able to do a better part by them than if there were one or two hundred. But I think I could do better if I had enough to permit me to systematize better.

I would keep a cook and nurse. I would keep a stock feeder, whose whole duty should be to attend the stock in general, to clean out the stable, have troughs filled with food, so that the plough hands would have nothing to do but water, clean down, and tie up the teams. I would build a house large enough, and use it for a dance-house for the young, and those who wished to dance, as well as for prayer meetings, and for a church on Sunday—making it a rule to be present myself occasionally at both, and my overseer always. I know the rebuke in store about dancing, but I cannot help it. I believe negroes will be better disposed this way than any other. I would employ a preacher for every Sabbath. One of my negroes can read the Bible, and he has prayer meeting every Sabbath at 4 o'clock, P. M.—all the negroes attend regularly, no compulsion being used.

I have tried faithfully to break up immorality. I have not known an oath to be sworn for a long time. I know of no quarrelling, no calling harsh names, and but little stealing. "Habits of amalgamation" I cannot stop; I can check it, but only in the name. I am willing to be taught, for I have tried every thing I know.

Yours, truly, A SMALL FARMER.

—*DeBow's Review.*

TRIAL, CONVICTION AND SALE
OF FOUR FREE NEGROES, FOR LIFE, FOR ATTEMPTED ABDUCTION OF A SLAVE.

THE following article has been furnished us at our special request, by our friend, Dr. Ashbel Smith. We have been apprehensive that the execution of our law, in this instance, might be attended with some excitement abroad, especially in Massachusetts, four of whose *citizens* are now sold into Slavery—and we were therefore the more solicitious to see the policy and justice of the law in question fully vindicated. We think this vindication, by Dr. Smith, complete, and such as will be satisfactory to all unbiased persons; though we cannot expect the Abolitionists of Massachusetts will be very well satisfied to find that the very agents they had employed to steal and free our slaves, are themselves made slaves. Nor will they probably be much better reconciled to this law by seeing it vindicated on the authority of their own ancestors, who are as renowned for their piety as their descendants are for their fanaticism. We commend the article in question to our friends at the North.

On Tuesday last, were sold at auction in this city, by the Sheriff of the county, the four free negroes who had been tried, condemned, and sentenced by our court in the early part of this month. Anthony Hays sold for $325, Levin Smith for 370, William Brown for 510, and Isaac Thompson for $365. Col. Quarles, of Mobile, was the purchaser of the first three named, and Mr. John Fordney, of this city, was the purchaser of the last named.

In order to present a full and connected outline of the trial under a law of this State, which has now for the first time been carried into execution, we must recapitulate some of the principal facts established by the testimony.

The above free negroes, constituting the crew of the brig Billow, of Boston, lying in this port, were severally indicted by the Grand Jury of this county, for concealing a runaway negro slave, named Frank, the property of Geo. H. Delesdernier, with intent to prevent the return of said runaway slave to his owner. The same four negroes were also indicted for receiving stolen goods, taken by said slave Frank, from the store of Messrs. Stearns & Lynch. The trial took place on the 5th and 6th instant; able counsel was assigned them; they were tried on the first indictment and the jury brought in a verdict of guilty against them all.

The facts elicited on the trial were the following:

While the slave Frank was standing on the wharf, the free negroes accused, induced him to go after whiskey for them; they enticed him on board to eat with them, and to remain several times over night with them; they told him they could take him to Boston, where they had an abolition friend who would protect him and pass him on to Canada, where he would be free and safe; they told him he must pay his passage to them, and also must have genteel clothes on his arrival in Boston, otherwise he would be taken up as a runaway slave; they assured him there was no danger, as they had already taken some slaves from Louisiana to Boston, where they had been protected and made free by their abolition friend; they persuaded him it would be right for him to steal such clothes and things as he might need, as he had never been paid for his labour. Acting on their advice, the slave went to the store of Messrs. Stearns and Lynch, and secreting himself behind some bales of merchandise, remained there all night, when he took a quantity of goods and let himself out by the back door—the goods were carried on board the Billow, where they were laid by the free negroes—and the slave himself was also concealed by them in the run of the vessel, and there remained for several days, the vessel being unable to put to sea, in consequence of bad weather. After the vessel left the port, and while lying near the point of the island, the apprehensions of the free negroes were excited by seeing the approach of the pilot boat, whereupon the slave was taken from his place of concealment, put on board a yawl, made to lie close on the bottom to avoid being seen, and the attempt was made to land him; they were overhauled by the pilot boat, taken on board, and the plot discovered; on search being made, the stolen goods were found on the Billow, in possession of the four negroes.

Many of the above facts rest on the testimony of the slave Frank, in regard to whom a *nolle prosequi* was entered, to enable him to be a witness: His testimony was sustained by so many circumstances and so much collateral evidence, that not a shadow of doubt has existed in regard to the guilt of the accused. Their crime was marked with a singular degree of forethought and preparation—a deliberateness of purpose running through several days of continuous acts; their crime was complete, for the vessel had left the port and was lying off the point of the Island—there can be no mistake—the accused were taken in the manner described.

We have recited the leading and material facts of these cases, although they have already appeared in our paper, in order that they may be before us in connection with the remarks which we shall make. We have omitted all extraneous matters, such as that part of the evidence which relieves the officers of the Billow from all suspicion of complicity with the accused.

After a deliberate and impartial trial, in which the accused were defended by able and experienced counsel, a verdict of guilty was found against them all.

They were called up for sentence on Friday morning, the 9th instant, which was pronounced by Judge Buckley in conformity with the law of the land. It was that a fine equal in amount to the value of the slave Frank be imposed on the accused severally, and on their failure to pay the same within five days, that they be sold at the Court House after ten days notice, to the highest bidder, as slaves for life. As the convicted parties declared their inability to pay the fine, the second part of the sentence, adjudging them to be sold as slaves for life, was carried into execution on Tuesday last.

As this sentence, from its infrequency in our country, will perhaps startle some of our fellow citizens of the Northern States, we propose to bestow on the subject a calm and dispassionate consideration. It would be beneath the height of our argument, and unworthy the majesty of the law which has been offended and vindicated, to indulge in any flings, or make any retaliatory reflections in relation to the Abolitionists of the North who have kidnapped so many of our slaves. In the example before us, the law has been executed; justice has been done on one of the gravest offences against society. On the contrary, with the Abolitionists the laws of the land are set at nought, and a great crime committed whenever a slave is enticed away and stolen from his master. There is no parity between the two cases.

Four persons of colour have been sold into Slavery for what, in all ages, has been adjudged a crime of the most heinous nature; it is the stealing of a human being. It is no answer to say that the slave went willingly and without compulsion, any more than child stealing would become laudable if the kidnapper should entice and delude the child to go with him willingly, instead of gagging and dragging it off by force. There is nothing novel or startling in the punishment of the crime in question, by the severest penalties known to human justice. The fact that our law allows the commutation of the punishment by payment of a sum of money, assimilates the present offence to much of the penal law of all countries; the crime of seduction is punished by a fine in money—its moral turpitude is none the less; it is no less a *malum in se.*

Is the selling of a criminal, convicted of a heinous crime, into Slavery, fitting punishment?

We shall not enter into a consideration of Slavery in the abstract nor in the concrete—it has nothing to do with the subject. We shall not now rely on the opinion of the wisest statesmen of old, and especially on the most sagacious and comprehensive-minded publicist of all antiquity, Aristotle, who regarded Slavery as an indispensable institution of every civilized State. We shall not here appeal to the teachings of the Old Testament. We shall make no mention of the usage of Rome in its palmy days of a Republic. We shall not cite the decision of that marvelous body of legal science and practical justice which grew up under the late Roman Empire, the Civil Law, whose principles are, to this day, the basis of the laws of most of Christendom, and whose whole jurisprudence is interpenetrated with decrees sanctioning the legislation of Texas concerning the crime now before us. We are willing to ignore all these massses of ethical philosophy and jurisprudence, and much more, though they are well worthy of study and respect by whomsoever would arrive at conclusions that will stand the test of times to come, when sober sense shall succeed unreasoning fanaticism.

We come at once to times near our own, in which we are taught to believe that christianity has shed its brightest influence on whatever concerns or appertains to humanity. Our citations must needs be few and brief. Omitting Bynkershock and the harsher interpreters of the law of nature, we cite Grotius, who, in reference to cases like that now before us, the loss of liberty as a punishment for crime, says, "no man is in such a sense free as that it shall be impossible for him to lose his liberty." Archdeacon Paley enumerates "crime as one of the causes from which Slavery may arise *consistently with the laws of nature!*" We might go on with citations without end, all to the same purpose; but we prefer practical legislators, and actual, working institutions, to ethical writers and philosophical speculations, however sensible the former or profound the latter.

The much vaunted ordinance of 1787, prohibiting Slavery and involuntary servitude in the North Western Territory *except in punishment for crime*, by this very exception, declares Slavery to be a fitting punishment for crime—not necessarily for all crime, but for some crimes.

The whole system of penitentiary punishment is the practical carrying into effect the doctrine that by the commission of crime, the personal services and personal liberty of the criminal are become forfeit to the State. The State retains the ownership of the convict, the keeper is the State's overseer; the convict is wholly deprived of all personal liberty, and all his labour is owing and paid to the State; he barely receives the commonest food and coarsest clothing. And this everywhere in Christendom is deemed a fitting punishment for crimes of much less heinousness than that for which the free negroes of the Billow have just been sold into Slavery. The truth is, the punishment of these negroes has been *ameliorated under our statute, in favour of their colour.* For the same crime, in almost any State of Christendom, they would have been punished capitally—and this would have been the punishment in our State of Texas, had they been white, or they would have been sentenced to the penitentiary for life; whereas, now, these free negroes are allowed all the outdoor liberty consistent with their due punishment, and by good conduct they may confidently expect to enjoy a large share of personal comforts. Indeed, in this respect their physical well-being will doubtless be improved by their change of condition. One of the negroes frankly expressed this opinion, and preferred to be tried for kidnapping and sold as a slave, if convicted, than to be tried for the larceny with the penitentiary in prospect.

But we do not rely alone on the analogy or identity in principle of confinement with labour in a penitentiary, and of the punishment imposed on these negroes. We have a far, far stronger example and weightier authority in point, in the system of transportation by British law, of British subjects convicted of crimes in that country. It is not merely a case in point—it is the very thing itself in form as well as in substance.

The 5*th George IV.*, c 84, gives to the governor of a penal colony a property in the services of a transported offender for the period of his sentence, and authorizes him to assign over such offender to any other person. And in this way hundreds and thousands of British subjects, convicted of crimes, are annually assigned as farm and domestic servants in the penal colonies of that country. According to the official memorandum, laying down the duties of a convict in assignment, "*he is required to devote his whole time and his best services to his* MASTER."—"Flogging, solitary confinement, and labour in a chain-gang," are the punishments authorized by law for misconduct by a convict in assignment, and these punishments are not a dead letter among neglected rules and obsolete regulations, but they are inflicted with a frequency and severity that gives us an appalling idea of a British penal colony—SLAVE colonies they should be called, for such in fact and in form they are. "A fixed, but limited ration of food is allowed, and clothing of the commonest description." This is the British system of to-day—it is Slavery under the name of transportation. It is the regular customary punishment of crime in Great Britain; and under this system thousands are annually carried to a foreign clime, fifteen thousand miles from the land of their birth, there to "devote their whole time and their best services to their masters." Let it not be imagined that these "MASTERS" are public officers of the State, overseers to superintend the labour of the convicts. No, they are private individuals having a direct and individual interest in the labour of the convicts assigned to them. If this is not reducing men, and white men too, into Slavery for crime, we confess that we cannot conceive the idea.

Formerly the convicts were transported from Great Britain to Virginia in colonial times; they were sold to the planters and worked in the fields, with negroes, under the lash of the overseer.

We have chosen to dwell on the examples furnished us by England, rather than by countries whose jurisprudence is based on the civil law, because not only the laws of America, but most of the moral notions of our countrymen, are derived with our blood from Great Britain.

The history of the colonies now constituting the Northern States, furnishes us with numerous examples of persons sold into hopeless Slavery for offences of a far milder nature than that for which these negroes have been condemned. Lest it should seem that we have any idea of recrimination or retaliation as connected with this grave matter, we shall forbear from entering largely into this topic. We cite only two instances from Massachusetts—the State whence the convicts of the Billow hail. The record still exists in Massachusetts of the order of the General Court, to sell into Slavery in the West Indies, two white persons for the crime of neglecting to attend public worship! The son of Philip, of Pokanoket, the last of his race, a mere boy who had been captured with his mother, was sold after the death of his father and the destruction of his tribe, into Slavery in Bermuda: he there wore out his life in servile toil under a master. But we forbear, we will not compare an act of law and justice with acts of fanaticism and cruelty.

We have purposely omitted, for obvious reasons, all reference to the legislation of our Southern States, though that legislation has in the main characterized with a humanity consonant with the spirit of the age in which we live, and with the teachings of that Book which it is our happiness to possess as the guide of our belief and conduct.

The limits of a newspaper article forbid our presenting this subject as fully as we wish. These hastily sketched remarks are scarcely an index of the massive and cumulative argument on which the statute of this State, that has just been violated, reposes. We have, however, shown that the selling of those free negroes to be slaves is a punishment neither excessive nor unusual, but consonant with the law of nature, as laid down by the authoritative writers on natural law, and justified by the present daily usage of the most civilized nations, and notably so by that of Great Britain whose common law is the law of the land in nearly every State of the American Union.—*Galveston News, Jan.* 30.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

**** *All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns should be addressed to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New-York.*

††† *Donations to the Treasury of the* AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY *may be forwarded to* FRANCIS JACKSON, *Treasurer, at Boston; or to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New-York.*

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 25, 1852.

THE HOUSE DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF.

IT was said more than eighteen hundred years ago, that a house divided against itself cannot stand, and the truth of the saying is written on every page of history, antecedent and subsequent. It is not unlikely that the history of our own country may furnish fresh and pregnant examples, by which Philosophy may teach the same truth to future ages. We are "*imperium in imperio*," empire within empire, and the division that goeth before a fall may wait upon the great including whole or the included parts. The elements of division exist in both the one and the other, and must be eliminated or they must inevitably grow to a catastrophe. The great national element of division we need hardly say is Slavery. The point of the wedge was inserted next the corner-stone of our institutions by their founders themselves, and not an event, or a man representing events, since then, but has struck it home, whether wittingly or not. By the everlasting laws of moral mechanics it must either be withdrawn or its pressure must grow stronger and stronger and at last make a fissure that will shatter into heaps the proud structure upon the heads of those that put their trust in it. This truth, which, like all truths, was at first hid from the wise and mighty and revealed only unto babes, has at last forced itself upon the notice even of our little great and foolish wise and have led them to apply their strength, which is weakness, and their wisdom, which is folly, to remedy an evil to which they can no longer shut their eyes. And the remedy which our wiseacre political mechanics propose is, not the removal of the instant wedge and the reparation of the damage it has done to our foundations, but to hold our tongues about it and leave it to itself!

Unfortunately for their philosophy, this is a thing to which their power, though not their will, has been unequal. The American people have contracted such a habit of talking that it is quite impossible to stop them. The more loudly the wicked cry "peace, peace," the less peace do they find. Indeed, they cannot help talking, themselves, about the very matter on which they would have all the rest of us hold our peace. So that if Silence is the price of Safety, we fear that our doom is sealed. But in silence or in storm, the enemy of our peace is going on unceasingly sapping our foundation and must of necessity finally accomplish its natural end. Even in the great Logocracy at Washington, which fittingly represents the lesser logomachies which are waging all the time all over the country, it has been found impossible to put a hook into the unruly member. It will be wagging. And as it stirs it moves every part of the continent. It matters not much which way it wags; the machinery of which it is the motive power results, in any case, in a stroke on the head of the wedge, and its work is, by so much, the nearer done. It either provokes the South or arouses the North, and from one or the other, or from both, down comes the blow which is to help to divide them, unless the fatal implement can be withdrawn. The more excitement, indeed, the more frequent and the heavier the blows. But even in the days of the deadest calm and indifference, the disturbing and jarring force was felt, even though men might not know where it lay, or even if they attributed it to some innocent cause. But those days are forever past. They can never return. Every eye is growing clearer to discern and every arm waxing heavier to give momentum to the cleaving edge that is turned against us.

But this is not the only cause of division which exists in the country. It is not merely the natural antagonism which such a horror as Slavery must excite where it does not hold absolute and crushing supremacy, that threatens our institutions as they are. The opposition of humanity to tyranny and cruelty is not the only danger we have to apprehend. Elements of hostility arising, more or less remotely, from Slavery exist in a far more intense degree, because of a more selfish origin, than any that divide us of the North from the Slaveholding section. There is no violent affection felt, at the North, for the South: and the South makes no disguise of its just contempt and natural hatred for the North. But no aversion of North from South, no enmity of South toward North, approaches in depth and fury that hatred which now burns in the breast of Slaveholder against Slaveholder. There was never any love lost between the Southern States. Though they would rally and present a united front whenever their favourite crime was assaulted, yet the truce was always only till the danger was passed away. We have no such rivalries and animosities North of Mason and Dixon's line as have always prevailed South of it. There is no more hostility between the New England States, or between any of them and New York or Pennsylvania, and *vice versa*, than there is between Kent and Essex, or Lancashire and Staffordshire in England. Some slight rivalry in trade or manufactures may exist; but nothing that imbitters the heart or excites the passions. Not so at the South. The hatred felt by North Carolina and Tennessee for their haughty sister South Carolina, and jealousy aroused in her by the growing prosperity of Georgia—a prosperity mainly owing to the larger infusion of Northern blood into her recent population—has not, and never has had, a parallel in the Northern States.

And this spirit of division now rages, as it never did before, not only between State and State, as of old, but between slaveholder and fellow-slaveholder of the same State. Of this we saw a sufficient proof in the encounter on the floor of the House between Messrs. Brown and Wilcox, of Mississippi. All the difference between them, and multitudes of their neighbours in the same Hall, is, that they could not keep their hands off each other, whereas the others *have* been able to contain themselves to that extent, thus far. And what was the immediate root of this bitterness, so much more bitter than ever before? The Blessed Compromise! That Panacea for every political evil! That Olive branch which, being waved over the boiling waters of Agitation, was to still them into peace! The Olive branch, like the rod of the prophet, was turned into a serpent, which began at once devouring all the lesser serpents of the inferior magicians. But for once Mr. Webster, though nobody doubts his abilities, showed that he was no conjuror. For the smaller fry of political snakes refused to be devoured at his request and showed most resolute fight. He, good easy man, thought that he could persuade the Democrats of the South, and a portion of those of the North, to consent to be eaten up to feed fat his ambition. But they have manifested no such disposition at the North; and at the South, the attempts which have been made to coalesce Whig and Democrats, on this absurd pretence, have only resulted in a state of feeling more dangerous to the permanency of the Union than has ever before existed there. Mr. Foote set his fate upon the cast of that die and it resulted in his political ruin. He tried to Whiggify the Southern Democracy, by making them gulp down the Compromise, and they rejected the nauseous dose, with disgust. The Whigs swallowed it eagerly, and thus placed poor Mr. Foote in the most ridiculous predicament that ever afflicted a scurvy politician. Defeated in his attempt to make the Senate again adopt the Compromise, he retired to his government of Barataria and has been heard of no more.

One of the most significant, and, to one who sees that nothing short of a political convulsion can suffice to free this country from the Curse which clings to it, one of the most hopeful of the signs of the time, is discerned in this state of feeling which has grown out of the Compromise at the South. The public men there know that the Compromise was a Sham, a Humbug; that it gave them nothing that they had not before, and pretended, at least, to take from them that which they had set their hearts upon having. To be sure, they had no right to what they claimed; but after having been the spoiled children of the nation, who could always get what they wanted by threatening to do themselves an injury, it was all one as if they had the clearest title to it. It is true also that, by their persistency in evil, they will probably get all they wanted. But the insult of the refusal was none the less stinging. Although the Union party, as it is called, seems to be predominant in the South, just now, it can no more be permanently in the ascendant there than the Whig party can have the permanent control of the nation. The great passions which rage there are not to be stilled by a word from Washington, and all that has been thrown upon the flames in hope of extinguishing them has only made them burn the fiercer. We see cause for hope in this state of things. A state of passion is arising in the South which may spurn at the solid advantage of the Union for the dearer pleasure of Revenge. The reaction there will be towards Secession. It will not be long before Unionists will be as dead, politically, there as Hartford Conventionists have long been at the North. A great flame is yet to rage in the Southern country. It may be that they will feel strong enough, or desperate enough, to cut loose from us, their protectors. It is not unlikely; for men's passions, in Revolutionary times, overpower their cooler reason. And these are such times.—E. Q.

SALE OF MASSACHUSETTS CITIZENS.

As the smallest favours from the Slave Power should be received with pre-eminent gratitude, so we may consider it a most encouraging fact, and one to be humbly thankful for, that the South, when she is disposed to sell at auction any of us, who, like ex-Senator Dickinson, were so unfortunate as to be born at the North, condescends to give us her reasons for doing so. Heretofore the replenishing of a slave-stock with Northern citizens was nobody's business, except the buyer's and sellers. The one looked to his merchandise, and the other to his money; but the public stood by as they did at any other vendue, and looked upon a transaction in which they had no concern unless they were a party of the first or of the second part; while the subject of the sale might revolve in his mind the meaning of that clause of the Constitution which ensures to a citizen of any State the privileges belonging to the citizens of all other States, and also pray silently for a good master who would stint the lashes on the bare back, and not be sparing of the weekly peck of corn meal; but speech was no more expected from him than from a horse on sale, and would have excited almost as much surprise.

For ever so slight an innovation in this matter we ought to be thankful. On our first page, this week, we copy, from a Galveston paper, the defence of the recent sale of four Massachusetts freemen. It is notable that the thing should be done at all, and quite as much so that a Northern man should have been employed to do it. Dr. Ashbel Smith, the author thereof, is a Connecticut man, and a graduate —so says the Boston *Commonwealth*—of Yale College, of the class of 1824. That State has sent a good many counterfeits into the world, in wooden nutmegs, wooden pumpkin seeds, wooden hams, and wooden clocks; but this last sham of hers—a sham man—beats them all.

The sale of these Northern citizens seems more to trouble the Southern Israel than that at the other end of the Union. The Southern conscience is more moved to extenuation than Northern sympathy or Northern dignity is moved to indignant protest. 'The wicked flee when no man pursueth'; so hopeful a condition may be followed by absolute repentance, when that happy time shall come which Mr. Webster once longed for—that there shall be a North.

The purchaser of the Massachusetts men has written a letter to the Governor of that State, and published it in the *Mobile Tribune*. It is a very impudent letter, but the impudence which covers an uneasy conscience is far better than silence. Here is the letter. When before was the purchase of a Northerner attempted to be extenuated by the propriety of the *lex talionis?*

MOBILE, March 2, 1852.

To the Governor of the State of Massachusetts;

SIR: I observe that one branch of the General Assembly of the State of Massachusetts has thought fit to appoint a committee to institute inquiry as to what action shall be taken to procure the restoration to freedom of the three negro men who were a short time since sold at Galveston, Texas, under the laws of that State, and purchased by me.

With a view to facilitate the labours of the committee raised for this *benevolent* purpose, it may not be deemed inappropriate to place them in possession of the main facts connected with this transaction.

I happened in Galveston at the time these three negroes were detected in the act of kidnapping or abducting slaves from their owners. They were tried under the laws of Texas, where the offence was committed, found guilty, and of course subjected to the penalty imposed by the law of that State. In the execution of this law, they were exposed to public sale, and I became the purchaser, and they are now my property.

If the Legislature of Massachusetts or the Abolitionists are really sincere in their disposition to restore to citizenship and liberty these negroes, I will afford them an opportunity of doing so. They have expended much sympathy and philanthropy on the slaves of the South, and surely they will not object to spending a little money by way of illustrating their fidelity.

I will, therefore, propose to this committee, or to the Abolitionists generally, if they will pay me the amount of money it has cost to reclaim a fugitive slave in Boston, they can have these negroes. This proposition I consider fair, liberal and just; and it will be regarded as a test of the sincerity of those who manifest such a lively interest in the welfare of this peculiar people.

My place of residence is Mobile.

I am, respectfully, your obedient servant,

SAMUEL QUARLES

HON. S. P. CHASE, of the U. S. Senate, will accept our acknowledgements for a copy of the Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the American Colonisation Society.

WE predicted, two or three weeks ago, that some of those persons who addressed Kossuth, on his arrival in this city, in behalf of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, would live to be sorry for it. Mr. Lewis Tappan is already fulfilling the prediction by denying some things that were done on that occasion, and palliating others, as will be seen in the following letter to the *Liberator:*

'KOSSUTH AND HIS CAUSE.'

MR. EDITOR: In your paper of March 12, you state that Dr. Mann, in his defence of Kossuth, remarks that the silence of the Hungarian chieftain 'is in accordance with the advice of the leading Anti-Slavery men of New York, including Lewis Tappan, Judge Jay, and the heads of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society;' and you add, 'We are quite willing this fact should be permanently recorded. "Our withers are unwrung."' The publication of this error in your columns furnishes a fit opportunity to correct a misapprehension of the Letter to Kossuth that accompanied the Address from the Executive Committee of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which seems, strangely enough, to have possessed the minds of certain portions of Abolitionists, both in this country, Great Britain and Ireland.

In the first place, the Letter was not the act of the Executive Committee, but of the Delegation that presented the Address. Secondly, they gave no 'advice' whatever to Kossuth; and, thirdly, they did not intimate to him that they did not wish or expect him to say any thing on the subject of American Slavery while in this country. They simply informed him that they did not desire him to make *a reply to the Address*, because it might, in the opinion of some persons, seem to commit him with some one of the Anti-Slavery parties in this country. I write not to apologize for or vindicate the Letter. The friends of the slave form and express their own opinions relative to it; but it should not be misrepresented. It may be well to state that, at the time the Letter was presented, it was not known to those who signed it that the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause in England had put into the hands of Kossuth Anti-Slavery documents, or otherwise specially called his attention to the subject of American Slavery.

You are pleased to add—'As for Lewis Tappan and his co-workers, who expects them to be any thing else but compromisers? Why should not all trimmers, backsliders and apostates from unadulterated abolitionism,' &c. &c. A word or two, with your permission, about 'backsliders and apostates from unadulterated abolitionism.' What is this abolitionism? I suppose it may be found in the Declaration of Sentiments, put forth by the Canvention that formed the American Anti-Slavery Society, in 1833. It was understood that you wrote the original draft, and it certainly did you great credit. In this Declaration, we find the following sentences:

'We also maintain that there are, at the present time, the highest obligations resting upon the people of the free States, to remove Slavery by moral and *political* action, as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States. . . We shall enlist the pulpit and the press in the cause of the suffering and the dumb. . . We shall aim at a *purification of the churches* from all participation in the guilt of Slavery. . . We shall encourage the labour of freemen, rather than that of the slaves, by giving a preference to their productions. . . We shall spare no exertions nor means to bring the whole nation to speedy repentance. . . Our trust for victory is solely in God. Truth, Justice, Reason, Humanity, must and will gloriously triumph.'

It may be said, without gainsaying, that 'Lewis Tappan and his co-workers' have, from 1833 to the present time, without 'compromise,' aimed to carry out the principle thus announced as 'unadulterated abolitionism.' Is it so with those who disagree with the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society? What 'political' action are they employing for the removal of Slavery? How do they enlist the 'pulpit' in the cause of the suffering and the dumb? What attempts are they making to effect a '*purification* of the churches?' Are they advocating the use of *free labour products?* Are they endeavouring to bring the 'whole nation' to speedy 'repentance?' Are they trusting for victory SOLELY IN GOD? If they are not zealously and consistently labouring to effect all these reformations, in the way proposed, are *they* not 'backsliders and apostates from unadulterated abolitionism?' Will you, Mr. Editor, calmly and dispassionately reply to these questions? Will you also prove your present policy is more *reformatory* than *destructive?*

Your obedient servant, LEWIS TAPPAN.

Mr. GARRISON replies:

It is labour lost for Mr. Tappan to attempt to create any other impression than was made by the Letter presented to Kossuth, made not 'strangely enough,' but very naturally, upon 'the minds of certain portions of the Abolitionists, both in this country, Great Britain and Ireland.' He pleads, that 'the Letter was not the act of the Executive Committee, but of the Delegation that presented the Address.' What is this but a quibble? 'In the first place,' those who signed that Letter were Lewis Tappan, Joshua Leavitt, George Whipple, William E. Whiting, and Samuel E. Cornish, every one of them a member of the Executive Committee, and all of them constituting a quorum of the same. 'Secondly,' in signing the Letter, they expressly add, '*For the Committee* of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.' Did they act in an unauthorized manner? If not, why this disclaimer? 'Thirdly,' the uncompromising friends of the slave never can consider themselves 'a party' in such a sense as to make it expedient for a man, like Kossuth, to be dumb in their presence, touching the horrible fate of the millions for whose deliverance they are struggling against such fearful odds.

We should deem it equally labour lost for us to try to convict Mr. Tappan and his associates of having compromised the cause of the slave, from time to time, for the gratification of their sectarian or personal feelings. Since their hostile secession from the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1840, their desperate attempts to destroy that Society, their unjustifiable seizure of its official organ, the *Emancipator*, their efforts to crush the *Liberator* and to drive us from the field, and their endeavours to propitiate a time-serving clergy and shield from exposure a corrupt church, their course has been too palpable, and too often exposed, to need any further elucidation. As an organization, they maintain a nominal existence; and give about as much uneasiness to the Slave Power as a fly does momentum to a coach wheel.

The reputation of the American Anti-Slavery Society for intrepidity, perseverance, and the ability to 'agitate,' needs no endorsement. That Society is, as it has ever been, 'a terror to evil doers, and a praise to them that do well.' It is as much feared and hated by the Southern soul-buyers as ever. Party and sectarian considerations cannot affect it. The influences emanating from it are moulding the political action of the country, 'purifying the churches,' stimulating the pulpits, and consolidating public opinion against the slave system. Whatever else may be found in the 'Declaration of Sentiments,' we are certain that it contains nothing to justify the support of a pro-slavery religious organization, or a pro-slavery party, or a pro-slavery government. With whatever is truly Anti-Slavery in the land, we, as Abolitionists, have no controversy. But when we discover, or think we discover, a disposition on the part of those who claim to be abolitionists to lower the Anti-Slavery standard, to make the cause of the slave subordinate to something else, to cater to religious bigotry, we hope never to fail to reprove them with all fidelity, and at the same time, in no spirit of unkindness.—*Liberator.*

THE MAINE LAW IN MAINE.—There is great difference of opinion, among those who have been known and recognised for years as friends of temperance, upon the wisdom of attempting to suppress drinking by legal enactments; and, notwithstanding the disposition, on the part of the friends of such laws, to make the question a test of temperance orthodoxy, it is quite possible for one to doubt the expediency of the Maine Law, and yet be a sincere and ardent friend of the cause. Is is not our purpose, however, to discuss the question either one way or the other. But it occupies so much the attention of the public, and especially that portion of it among which the *Standard* circulates, that we may properly give to it so much space as may be occupied by brief and comprehensive statements of facts; and of that character is the following letter from Gen. Appleton, of Portland, Maine, to a friend in Philadelphia, who asked for light:

PORTLAND, Friday, March 5, 1352.

DEAR SIR: Your favour, making some inquiries in relation to the Maine Liquor Law, was duly received, but I have been obliged to defer an answer until the present time.

The effect of the Maine Law in diminishing crime and pauperism, and in preserving the peace and quiet of the city, is most obvious to all. The City Marshal stated to me that it was impossible to estimate the difference between the good order now prevailing in the city and that which existed before the law went into operation; and such I understand is the case in all the cities and towns in the State. The law works better even than its most ardent friends expected. It might, however, have been presumed, that closing all the rum-shops in the State, and thus cutting off the means of intemperance, would effect a great change in lessening crime of every kind, and in promoting the best interests and happiness of all classes of the community. Wherever intoxicating drinks are tolerated, crime and poverty and their attendant evils are sure to follow.

There is some opposition to the law, and it comes chiefly from the dealers in intoxicating liquors and moderate drinkers; but, as far as I have been able to ascertain, it constantly increases in popularity; nor have I any apprehension that it will be repealed. The longer it remains on the statute book, the stronger it will grow in the approval of the people. It is an interesting fact, that among those who approve of the law, there are many who were notoriously intemperate, but who, not now being able to supply a perverted appetite, have regained their self-control, and are now glad that the temptation is removed beyond their reach.

The great peculiarity of the Maine Law lies in the fact that it absolutely prohibits the sale of intoxicating liquors, except for manufacturing and medicinal purposes. It has heretofore been the great error in all the legislation of the several States, relating to the sale of strong drinks, that the sale has been authorized by law for the purpose of being used as a common drink. The only material restriction has been in respect to the number of persons who should sell. We have tried the common system of granting licenses to select individuals under various forms, for more than two hundred years, and the effect may everywhere be seen, in the increase of intemperance. It is the necessary effect of the common legislation on this subject, to augment the evil which it proposes to restrain. Any legislation that tolerates the sale of intoxicating drinks is utterly worthless and impotent in restraining intemperance. The experiment, it would seem, had been sufficiently tried to satisfy the most incredulous. It were better to have no law on the subject, than any which I have yet seen, that tolerates the sale as a common drink. Entertaining these views, the friends of Temperance in Maine could think of no legal remedy for the restraint of intemperance but in prohibition. To go back to the old system of granting licences, would savour too largely of the ridiculous, and would be in such utter disregard of the actual results of the system, that it could not be admitted for a moment. The only question, it seems to me, now before the public, touching this matter, is, prohibition or the free sale, everywhere. This is the issue to be met at the present time. And why should not the sale be prohibited? Prohibition is the rule in all other cases of wrong-doing—why depart from this rule in relation to the greatest evil which can be inflicted on society?

Very respectfully, JAMES APPLETON.

FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW IN CALIFORNIA.

WE alluded, last week, to the passage of a Fugitive Slave Law in California, and stated its character so far as we had then ascertained it. By a later arrival from San Francisco, the whole bill, with the debate thereon in the Assembly, has been received, and may be found below. By that it will be seen that the important clause is the 4th, and that upon its provisions the discussion turned. The other three are altogether superrogatory, as the United States law secures all that they would guaranty; but the last virtually establishes Slavery in a territory where it could not exist before it became a State, and which, in the very act of declaring itself a State, prohibited Slavery. What precisely would be the effect of this section of the bill, those who originated it doubtless know better than any body else. It certainly makes slaves of freemen; time will show—and probably no long time either—whether it was not also intended to prepare the way for making a free State a slave State.

We copy the following Report from the *San Francisco Herald*, of Feb. 12th:

ASSEMBLY.

SACRAMENTO, Feb. 5, 1852.

After my despatch closed yesterday, a very exciting and important debate sprung up, the House being in Committee of the Whole, upon the bill introduced by Mr. Crabb, "respecting fugitives from labour, and slaves brought to this State prior to the adoption of the Constitution."

Section 1. Empowers the owner of a slave, his agent or attorney, to seize the fugitive, or obtain a warrant from any judge or magistrate, directed to any police officer to perform the arrest; and upon sufficient proof of the validity of the claim to such slave, any judge or magistrate is directed to issue a warrant for the removal of the slave to the State from whence he fled. The testimony of the fugitive is not to be taken in evidence, and the writ of removal is to be a guaranty for any process or molestation whatsoever.

Sec. 2. Prescribes the penalty for rendering assistance to the fugitives in escaping, which shall not be less than $500 fine and two months imprisonment, and forfeit the sum of $1000 civil damages to the claimant of the fugitive.

Sec. 3. Prescribes the duties of police officers, and the penalties for non-compliance, which are a fine of not less than $500, or more than $1000, and a removal from office; and if the fugitive should escape by the assent or contrivance of the officers, then the latter are liable for civil damages to the full amount of the value of the slave.

Sec. 4. Any person or persons held to labour or service in any State or Territory of the United States, by the laws of such State or Territory, and who were brought within the limits of the State, previous to the admission of this State as one of the United States of America, and who shall refuse to return to the State or Territory, where she or they owed such labour or service, upon the demand of the person or persons, his or their agent or attorney to whom such service or labour was due, such person or persons so refusing to return, shall be held and deemed fugitives from labour within the meaning of this act, and all the remedies, rights and provisions herein given to claimants of fugitives who escape from any other State into this State, are hereby given, and conferred upon claimants of fugitives from labour within the meaning of this section.

Mr. McConaha moved to strike out the 4th section. He doubted the constitutionality of the entire bill, and proceeded to read extracts from the constitution to prove his position.

Mr. Lyon contended that before the State organization, we were under Mexican law, which did not recognise Slavery, and therefore bringing slaves into the territory virtually made them free.

Mr. Wood addressed the committee at length, in favour of the bill. His remarks were argumentative and excellently well received.

After several amendments had been proposed and discussed, Mr. Ellis moved an amendment to the 4th section, and sustained his motion in a speech of some length.

Mr. Peachy said that the 4th section of the bill involved a very grave consideration. He held that when the United States acquired territory, it belonged alike to the citizens of all the States, and that each citizen of every State had a right to take his property to that territory and enjoy its full use, service and value. It appeared that to the territory of California, slaves were brought by emigrants, and had remained there after the adoption of the constitution. An argument had been urged that the Spanish laws, in force here before the constitution, did not allow the existence of Slavery. Mr. P. said this proposition made the law of a conquered people superior to those of the conquerors, which he considered absurd. He said it was true the law of nations recognised the laws of conquered nations until those of the conquerors were specifically extended over them, which was a just and equitable provision, made to prevent anarchy and confusion; but he denied that all the Spanish laws in California had prevailed up to the time of the extension of positive enactments by the United States over the country. He maintained that such as were not in actual enforcement in the country prior to our occupation, were not to be recognised, and that no political sanction could be given them, except to the extent in which they were found in real *de facto* operation, and deriving their force from the absolute requisition of the society in which they were obtained.

The point was, whether the constitution of the State deprived a citizen of any right which he had before its adoption. In the absence of any express declaration otherwise, he held that the operation of the constitution was prospective only. It declared that in the future there should be no such class of persons as slaves, in the State. *He saw no reason for interpreting this provision as declaring the slaves in the States free. His ground was, that the people in the State could hold no power to deprive any person of rights which he had to any property at the time of the adoption of the constitution.*

Mr. Peachy said the whole argument of Mr. Ellis, of Nevada, was founded upon the supposition that freedom is denied to the persons in question by the constitution of this State, and that the clause in the federal constitution in regard to fugitive slaves, does not conflict with and override that provision of the constitution. Mr. Peachy does not consider the question whether the slave be fugitive or not, to enter into the discussion of the 4th section of this bill.

That section is intended to provide for the case of slaves brought to California before her admission into the Union. It does not limit its measure of justice to the fulfilment of the obligations imposed upon this State by the federal constitution. It goes farther, much farther. The true question is, did the constitution of this State invest, with freedom, such persons as existed in this country in the condition of slaves, prior to its adoption? Mr. Ellis, of Nevada, seems to take it for granted that such is the operation of the constitution; because he is of opinion that only fugitives from labour can be surrendered. Mr. Peachy, for the reasons above stated by him, differed from Mr. Ellis. Mr. Peachy thought that slaves brought into the territory of California, continued to be slaves in said territory; that when the territory passed into a State, by the adoption of its constitution, no change was made in the condition of said slaves; that the clause of the constitution prohibiting involuntary servitude, was prospective, not retrospective, and did not destroy the owner's right of property in his slave; and that it is very proper for the Legislature to the possessor of rights of this character, the means of enforcing them.

Mr. Ellis said he concurred entirely with the gentleman from San Francisco, so far as related to the operation and effect of the laws of a conquered country, when in conflict with the laws of the conqueror, nor would he question the soundness of his argument in support of the rights of the slave owner to carry his property into territory which was the common heritage of the whole body of the American people. His objection was not to the ostensible object contemplated by the bill, for that object was a worthy one, and should receive his support; but under the operations of the 4th section, he saw a necessary construction in conflict with the solemn constitutional provision that "neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude, unless for the punishment of crimes, shall ever be tolerated in this State." This section, by necessary implication, does "tolerate" Slavery for an unlimited series of years. It recognises the existence of Slavery, not only since the adoption of the constitution, but goes farther—it prospectively throws its protecting mantle over Slavery for all time to come—at least, so long as there shall exist a slave, brought into the territory of California before the adoption, or any of his progeny. The custody of the slave is given, by this law, to the master—and no time is prescribed in which he is required to remove him from the State. He may therefore appropriate his labour, and under the specious pretence of intending to remove him, at some undefined period of the future, he may hold him to service; and thus under the colour of law, and by the legitimate interpretation of a statutory enactment, the constitution is invaded, and Slavery is planted on the soil of California. I am not willing without first invoking the voice of the people, to introduce Slavery into this State. If gentlemen think it desirable to introduce Slavery into California, let them call upon the people—and their voice shall be to me as the voice of God.

Mr. Crabb addressed the House at some length. The object of the bill was to secure the rights of citizens of the United States to such property as they held in this country at the time the constitution was adopted. The framers of the constitution would not have made a special provision prohibiting Slavery in the State, had they deemed that the Mexican law abrogated slavery before the formation of that instrument. Mr. Crabb maintained that no Slavery had existed in the State since its formation; for, a slave living with his master, and rendering labour to him with perfect free will and consent, was not a state of things in conflict with the constitution.

Messrs. Peachy and Ellis, of Nevada, explained their positions more definitely.

Mr. Brush could see no reason for the passage of the bill, as the Fugitive Slave Law, passed by Congress was sufficiently comprehensive to cover the case. He had been branded an Abolitionist; he indignantly denied the charge, and proceeded to define his position.

Mr. Hammond did not stand up as a Southern or Northern man, but as a Californian, having at heart the best interests of the State. The constitution of the State strictly prohibited Slavery, and he would never advocate an encroachment upon that instrument. He was a pro-slavery man, reared among the institutions of the South, but the locality of birth would not sway him in a conscientious discharge of his public duties. He should never attempt to invade the rights secured by the constitution of the State, or desire its change with reference to the subject under discussion, without it was the wish of a majority of the citizens of California. Mr. H. spoke with much eloquence upon the points involved, and at considerable length, and announced his intention to offer several amendments, giving a limitation to section 4.

The committee then rose, reported progress, and leave was granted to sit again.

SACRAMENTO, Feb. 6, 1852

The Fugitive Slave bill came up in Committee of the Whole House, yesterday afternoon, and was debated for three or four hours before a final vote was taken.

Mr. McConaha moved to strike out section 4—lost without a division.

Mr. Hammond introduced three additional sections, one providing a period of three months' limitation for the action of the law; and the others prescribing penalties for officers who hinder its operation.

Mr. Crabb moved to amend by inserting three years. Mr. Hammond opposed the amendment, on the ground that it allowed the retention of slaves within the period of three years. He was willing that a section should be added to the bill, providing that slaves might remain for a period of years in the country, with a condition that they become free at the expiration of that time, but he could not approve a position that involved a violation of the principles of the constitution of California.

Mr. Coffroth moved to insert twelve months, and Mr. Ellis six months, but twelve was finally adopted.

Mr. Peachy hoped that gentlemen who intended to oppose the law, would do so openly, and not by attempting to destroy the efficacy of it, by insisting upon amendments which would render its operation nugatory. He thought that the period of twelve months was as short a limitation as the nature of the case would admit of.

Mr. Parrish was opposed to the limitation of the time to less than twelve months. He said there were slaves scattered all through the country, who were working under an agreement to pay their owners a per centage upon their savings.

Mr. Coffroth said he was sincere in making a motion to insert twelve months. He believed it mattered not whether three, six or twelve months were substituted; he contended that Slavery being represented in Congress, and recognized by the constitution, it was therefore protected in all territories by the fundamental law, where no contrary municipal regulation was in force. In Virginia, where no municipal law was ever passed for or against Slavery, the institution exists only by the fundamental law, and not by the constitution of the State. The slaves, therefore, brought into California when it was a territory, are slaves still, for no State law could be established to nullify the rights to property guarantied by the action of Congress, and the national constitution. Holding this doctrine, he was inclined to vote for the amendment with the original bill. He (Mr. Coffroth) had been denominated an abolitionist, and he hoped that the petty slanderer who promulgated the rumor would sift his remarks, to see how much abolitionism they contained.

The debate on the limitation was continued by Messrs. Ellis, Crabb, Hammond, and Parrish. Mr. Wood thought that there would be cases where a knowledge of the law would not meet all interested in its provisions, in time to give them the benefit of the same, within the shorter period proposed as a limit to its operations. There were parties residing on the frontier of the State who could not know what had been done for their relief within time to enjoy its benefits.

The limitation section was still further discussed by Messrs. Hammond, Peachy, McConaha and others, when the committee rose and reported the whole back to the House.

The bill then came up on its final passage, and was carried by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Blanchard, Boggs, Brush, Canney, Chauncey, Coates, Coffroth, Crabb, Dameron, De La Valle, Ellis, of Nevada, Ford, Gardner, Gibson, Graham, Harasthy, Ingersoll, James, Kipp, Law, Lyons, McKenzie, McMears, McMullin, Merritt, Orrick, Pacheco, Parrish, Paxton, Peachy, Pearce, Ridley, Smith, Stephenson, Talliaferro, Thompson, Tucker, Wall, Wing, Wood, Yeiser and Young—42.

NAYS—Messrs. Cauldwell, Cutler, Ellis, of San Francisco, Fleming, Fowler, Hinchman, McConaha McKim, Morse, Turner and Mr. Speaker—11.

ABSENT—Messrs. Covarrubias, Crittenden, Hopkins, Hudspeth, Pico, Stark, Ten Broeck and Wohler.

The House then adjourned.

CORRECTION.—It affords us [*Portland* (*Me.*) *Inquirer*] sincere pleasure to insert the following. If editorial errors were always as courteously corrected, the character of the press would be greatly improved. No one shall suffer injustice from us if we know it. The article was taken from the *N. Y. Anti-Slavery Standard*, which will readily make the correction.

EASTERN ARGUS OFFICE, }
Portland, March 6, 52. }

To the Editor of the *Portland Inquirer:*

DEAR SIR—Will you do us the justice to say in your next paper (if you have not already done so) that the article which appeared in the *Inquirer* of the 4th inst., on the 3d page, headed "Argus Democracy," purporting to be from the columns of our paper—*never appeared in our paper*—but is falsely credited.

Respectfully yours,

HOLDEN & SANBORN,
Publishers.

The article here referred to was published in the "Pro-Slavery" Department of the *Standard* of Feb. 12th, with the remark that it "met with great favour at the South, and was widely copied into Southern journals." The error in crediting, therefore, lies back of us, as we found it in circulation in Southern papers with the appendage of "*Eastern Argus*," and it was so copied. It was entitled "Northern Negroes," and was a base attack upon that class of people, as well as upon the Abolitionists. We do not wonder that the editors of the *Argus* disclaim the sentiments of it, as it does not owe its paternity to them. It is unpardonable in the Southern papers to commit such blunders; they will alienate their real friends. There are some acts so low and vile, that the man who can stoop to them, ought to have whatever reward or credit they can bring him.

MR. PHILLIP S. WHITE, the Temperance lecturer, whose case we mentioned last week, has made his peace with the Southern public, and has proved himself to be as good a pro-slavery man as anybody. Among other interesting articles from our Southern contemporaries on our first page, will be found a letter of Mr. White's, and the retraction of Mr. Jones of the injurious and malicious charge, that White was in favour of freedom. It was evidently no trifling fact in his favour that members of his family were themselves slaveholders. If he had been so fortunate as to be blessed with a brother engaged in the African Slave Trade, or one, even, who was a negro-catcher by profession in this country, probably no injurious suspicion would ever have been entertained against him. The *Mobile* (*Ala.*) *Register* says of him:

Mr. Phillip S. White, the eloquent Temperance Lecturer, has been involved in some slight troubles in South Carolina, in consequence of the alleged utterance of obnoxious opinions on the Slavery question. He was said to have declared that "Slavery was an evil and a curse." Upon explanation it has turned out that this expression was used by him on a steamboat passing from Nashville to Paducah, and was applied to the condition of Slavery and slave-labour, depreciated in value as it is, in Kentucky, the State of his residence, contiguous to Indiana and Ohio. This explanation is sustained by the gentleman who heard the declaration, and it has given full satisfation in South Carolina, where Mr. White now is, advocating the Temperance Cause. There is scarcely no good reason to suspect the fidelity of this eloquent gentleman, to our institution, for he is, we believe, himself a slaveholder, and has one brother in Mississippi, and another in Florida, who are large planters. He is also a brother of the Hon. J. M. White, now deceased, who was for a long while Delegate in Congress from Florida, and a lawyer of eminent learning and abilities.

AN INQUIRY.

DEAR GARRISON: I signed, nearly two months since, a petition, addressed to the United States Senate, asking the release of Sayres and Drayton. Can you tell me if it has been forwarded? I have seen no notice of its having been presented.

Yours, truly, C. F. HOVEY.

Boston, March 17, 1852.

ANSWER.—The petition to which our friend refers contained 266 signatures in addition to his own, and was promptly forwarded to Hon. Charles Sumner, on Monday, Feb. 2. It has not yet been presented to the Senate, to the surprise and regret of the signers; probably for weighty and conclusive reasons in the mind of Mr. Sumner, which reasons he will doubtless readily give to the public. It seems to us there should be no delay in a case so affecting; that an occasion should be created, if necessary, and not waited for; that to seek 'a more convenient season,' when the demon-spirit of Slavery may be the aggressor, is not the best evidence of loyalty to the cause of bleeding humanity. But we wait for an explanation, not doubting that Mr. Sumner has been actuated by the best motives.—*Ed. Lib.*

—The above inquiry and answer are made in the *Liberator* of last week. If we are not mistaken, the pardoning power rests with the President, and Mr. Fillmore alone is responsible for the continued imprisonment of Drayton and Sayres. To him, probably, Mr. Sumner has sent the petition referred to, instead of presenting it to the Senate. If that body, however, has any power in this case, we can not understand why Senators Hale, Seward, Sumner, or Chase, have not long ago attempted to free themselves from individual responsibility for the hard fate which is visited on these martyrs to American Liberty. We can conceive of no other explanation than that the responsibility rests upon the President alone.

AN IMPOSTOR.—Mr. C. C. Foote writes from Norwich, Conn., to a friend in this city, that a man who calls himself Williams is travelling through New England, and appealing very effectually to public sympathy, as a fugitive slave. He is, however, an impostor. He shows letters from Mr. Gillett, of Bloomfield, Dr. Bushnell, and other clergymen of Hartford, which are forged, but which, with a well-told and sad tale, and ingratiating manners, ensure him everywhere a favourable reception. He has a family, which he has succeeded in quartering upon the Rev. Dr. Osgood, of Springfield, Mass.

It is not improbable that he is known, or may pass himself off, in various places, by various names. But he is described by Mr. Foote as of medium size, black complexion, with a scar in his forehead, and aged apparently somewhere from 25 to 35 years.

New England papers will do well to warn the public against this scamp. The sympathy for fugitives is not so strong, even in Massachusetts, that it can bear to be wasted on the scoundrels who make a living out of the misfortune of their race.

☞ A PETITION from a number of respectable coloured residents of the 9th Ward in this city was presented, a few days ago, to the Common Council, asking for the passage of a law granting them the privilege of riding in the Omnibusses. The Board decided not to entertain a question surrounded with so many difficulties. Why do not the coloured people bring up the question by getting into omnibusses; and if that shall lead to any difficulty, it can be ascertained if there is any law against their right of locomotion in that particular way?

☞ THE *Tribune* says, without giving its authority for the information, that a rich cotton planter on the Alabama River, being asked if he was in favour of building railroads at the South, replied that he was, as it brought into his neighbourhood Irish labourers, and that, by allowing them to run among his negroes, it had a tendency to improve his stock, by mixing Irish blood with the African—such a cross making the best kind of slaves. Our Irish fellow-citizens, we hope, are duly sensible of the compliment paid to their race in this assertion of the slave-breeder.

THE NINTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE CINCINNATI ANTI-SLAVERY SEWING CIRCLE.

RECEIPTS.

Balance in the Treasury,	$196,70
In subscriptions and donations,	35,50
Proceeds of Bazaar, &c.,	559,01
	$791,21

EXPENDITURES.

For Materials for Society and Bazaar,	$119,40
To Levi Coffin, aid to Fugitives,	95,00
Expenses of Convention,	57,00
To S. R. Ward,	60,00
Messrs. Treat and Mathews,	25,00
For *A. S. Standard* and *Bugle*, Postage, &c.,	19,75
To Western Society for *Bugle*,	100,00
Dr. Brisbane,	25,00
Henry Bibb,	25,00
Hall for Bazaar,	15,00
Total,	$541,21

Owing to the temporary absence of the Secretary from the city, the President offered the following Report:

The Society has held fifty regular meetings since the last Annual Report, and six board meetings. At most of them the attendance had been good. The largest number present at any one was eighteen, the smallest number five. We have held two social meetings, one at Spring Garden in June, 80 present. One at Mount Otis, in celebration of Emancipation in the British West Indies, the first of August. These gatherings we propose to continue, feeling them to be instrumental in promoting a mutual interchange of good feeling, and awakening renewed interest in the subject. Our numbers continue the same as last year, forty-six. Eight have united with us, and eight have removed from the city or are absent at present; two have withdrawn; we have lost none by death. One hundred and forty-two garments have been distributed, twenty-six of which were given us by the ladies of Mr. Livermore's Society. The amount of second hand clothing distributed is lost through some omission in the record, but we think it has not been so great as usual, we remember 31 articles, but this is of course no record. We regret not knowing the amount as it is pleasant and profitable, to look back and compare each year with the past, that by it, we may be incited to greater activity, or rebuked for thoughtless neglect. Our object in our regular meetings is to sew for those who have no others to pity or help them, and every effort should be made to make our assistance as efficient as possible. It seems strange to us, when we look round and see so much energy and benevolent effort in exercise, that so little is devoted to this part of God's poor. How much of the diligence and vital power of Abolitionists themselves, is absorbed in those objects, which the lovers of popularity and worldly admiration *will surely sustain* without them! How often is the slave forgotten, that the tide of popular benevolence may be swelled! How often do even the members of this Society give their money and time, their energy of intellect, and pride of position to sectarian organizations and then have so little of either for the languishing cause of the perishing slave. Thousands upon thousands of dollars have been given by lovers of Freedom for white men, to the Great Hungarian for the bondmen of Europe, while those very people would never give one cent to those at

our own door, enduring privations and wrongs, compared with which the serfs of Hungary are perfectly happy. Kossuth never forgets his *own poor countrymen for others*—we give him credit for that. *Free Americans do.*

We held a Convention in April, which although productive of good was not all we wished it to have been, owing to our not having a Hall large enough, nor suitably extensive notice of it at the time. But we think it undoubtedly roused many who were slumbering, if it did not awaken as many as we hoped to have done. I would say in reference to it, a few words of explanation, since there have been some misgivings on the part of those who profess an interest in this cause, though not perhaps members of this Society. We have been told that some stayed away from the Convention last year, and intend to do so from the one to be held this year, for fear of *Garrisonianism*. It ought to be understood by all, that the Society is composed of almost every shade of Anti-Slavery interpretation, but there are not more than three or four among them all, who are of the old organization or Garrisonian principle; almost every one is in favour of political action. Neither do we know of one member who does not belong to some religious denomination; though many are restrained from uniting now with a church on account of their pro-Slavery character. We have laboured harmoniously together for nine years and as we receive aid from all parties, we are bound to agree to listen to Anti-Slavery truth from all, whatever differences of opinion may exist upon other subjects. No undue advantage has been, or will be taken to present the views of Mr. Garrison, but all will in fairness present what they feel to be the best means of urging on Emancipation.

We have received for our Bazaar large donations from Garrisonian friends at the East. But the political friends here, have contributed largely too, so that, to be just to all, we must share the funds as we have done, in a perfectly harmonious spirit. It seems to us that in the "straight and narrow way" of approaching this colossal enemy of humanity—Slavery—we must leave behind us the petty jealousies of party zeal and sectarian prejudice, and differences—which, when they are split, fade away like soap bubbles in our possession—and gathering our mantle of truth close around us, see that no hinderance from either side, stay our onward path.

I feel sensitively the thrusts made against us for Garrisonian principles, for I know that my unshaken confidence in those principles as the only great and true ones, brings this criticism and distrust upon us. Not that I believe any more would be done by those who assail us. But I fear we may ourselves be discouraged and hindered. We ought however, always to keep a discriminating eye out upon these cavillers, and watch whether, when they scornfully turn from us, they go on in the Anti-Slavery track in any other car.

Our Bazaar which was held in Oct. was unexpectedly successful. No one who was there, through the whole, and saw how many of the influential and wealthy of the city, who had been present the year before were absent then, but must have marked the fact, and argued from it (as we did) a discouraging consequence. But we found other friends who will not be easily swerved from the right, by fear or favour, and although we cannot enumerate them all, it seems but just to remember them with thanksgiving. Some do not wish their names associated with us. Yet feel to sympathize with, and aid us, so that if any are omitted in our columns they must remember that it is not from forgetfulness, for their timely aid. We cleared $550, an amount which we had little reason to expect, but it taught us to feel that we are not to measure the power of a few deeply devoted spirits by their number. The enthusiasm of true faith and principle is contagious and many will yield to the spell even when not really entering fully into the measures pursued. I recollect a sermon of old Dr. Beecher, who called upon his christian hearers to select some one of their impenitent acquaintances and visit, pray, and strive with them—no matter whether they liked it or not—till they yielded their hearts to the very earnestness of the appeals coming fresh and warm from the souls which Christ had made his own. Now if we loved Universal Freedom as Dr. Beecher loved his Church—if we did not always make it secondary to objects not half so important—but brought to it all the love which ought to possess our souls for it—we should win over the timid, and the doubting—the thoughtless and the hardened by the very intensity of our own devotion. Whether this spread of Anti-Slavery truth and feeling, is ever to be the result of such an organization as ours—is yet to be proved. To produce such, the love of Freedom must be made the *one full* purpose of the soul, religiously, socially, and practically. No great results ever came from compromising with the spirit of Slavery. No matter whether in churches or out of them. I have received for our next Bazaar $30 from Mrs. Sarah Russell of Boston, $150 worth from Miss Weston in behalf of the Friends of the American Society there. All that we gather will be devoted to the Slave, and it is to be hoped we shall find co-operation from sources which we have not yet heard from, and that our means of usefulness may be greatly increased. We shall hold the Convention the last week in April, in Smith and Nixon's Hall, and hope it may prove a profitable one. The speakers who are expected, are among Political Abolitionists. But all parties are invited to be with us. C. C. Burleigh will lecture here the following week, so that we shall hear all and be refreshed if we will.

Sarah Otis Ernst.

From Cuba.—The Slave Trade in Cuba is prosecuted with so much vigor, that the Governor General has suspended the Governor of Matanzas, General Pavia, from the exercise of his functions. The extreme laxity of the penal law promulgated in this island by General O'Donnell, some time in the year 1845, by which slave trading thenceforth was pronounced piracy, has not had much effect on the traders, because, at the time the law in question was established, the trade was at its height, under the notorious protection of Gen. O'Donnell.

The slave trade continued to flourish under the administration of General Roncali, and the Count of Alcoy. The penal law here seems to have been studied so as to afford every advantage to the slave traders. It is expressly stipulated that "negroes, be they of whatever class they may, just from the coast of Africa or otherwise, once safely placed upon an estate, cannot be interfered with or molested, in any way whatever." The moment the slaver makes her appearace at the given place on the coast, preparations are made to convey the negroes instantly to the nearest estate, upon safely reaching which they are without the pale of the law, and therefore cannot be seized by the authorities. So it has been with reference to the eight hundred at Camanoca, and the 640 at Sierra Morana.

The influence of the slave traders, from their great wealth, is such that they obtain whatever they please from the home government, and it would, strange to say, be almost impossible for the Captain General even to attempt to bring these guilty parties to punishment.

The coloured population of the island of Cuba (notwithstanding the statistic to the contrary given in by the government), far outnumbering that of the whites, has always been a source of fear to the native whites, and they have endeavoured, by every means in their power, to put an end to fresh importations of negroes from the Coast of Africa. The recent enormous importations introduced by a company of Catalans at Mantanzas, and by others, of Havana, have caused considerable indignation amongst the enlightened Creole population, who forsee, sooner or later, the danger which may accrue from the cupidity of these Catalan Spaniards, whose only end being gain, care not for the future prosperity of Cuba.

Gen. Pavia, Governor of Mantanzas, has not only been suspended by the Captain General, but a commission has been issued to inquire into his conduct in reference to this transaction.

Gen. Concha has issued the most stringent orders for the prevention of the traffic, in fulfilment of the treaties with Great Britain. He does everything in his power to walk in the paths of honesty, and does so; but it seems quite impossible for him to induce the subaltern officers to follow a similar course.

Pavia laughs with scorn at the threats of his dismissal by Gen. Concha.

Intelligence has been received that 640 more Royal negroes were safely landed from another brig at Sivvia Morend, on the 22d inst.

A vessel under Spanish colours landed a cargo almost in sight of the Moro castle, at the Chorrera river, on the 23d inst.

Nearly all the principal functionaries at Trinidad have been suspended from their employments. Some have arrived at Havana and been confined in the castle of Principe, for scandalous connivance with the slave traders in that district, where several disembarkations have been effected during the three last months.

I understand that the Captain General, Don Jose de la Concha, has determined to make some severe examples.

Communications.

LETTER FROM MR. MELLEN.

A WORD TO YOUR CORRESPONDENT 'D. Y.' AND A FEW WORDS TO HON. ROBERT RANTOUL, JR., MR. BRYANT AND THE DEMOCRACY OF NEW YORK.

In your paper of Feb. 5th, your correspondent 'D. Y.' speaks of the opinion which a certain gentleman holds of his own oratorical powers in opposition to that of the community in general. Being somewhat engaged, that gentleman did not notice the expression, but let him now say that the gentleman spoken of never pretended to any great powers of oratory; but, being impressed with the importance of having certain facts and truths pressed home to the notice and the understanding of our people, and which our friend 'D. Y.' has, unaccountably to him, seemed as pertinaciously determined should not be brought to the notice of our meetings, has caused him, more frequently, perhaps, than he otherwise should, to arise to promulgate; and he thinks he shall continue to do so till some action shall be had in the premises, whereby the rights of every person in the country, whether bond or free, shall be amply secured by law, or else till he ceases to breathe; at least, that is his present determination; and when 'D. Y.' will cease calling him to order, in the middle of his harangues, thereby constantly breaking in upon the course of his remarks, perhaps the audiences will be better able to judge of the kind of importance to be attached to what he has to say. It must be remembered that, on the night spoken of, it was with no little difficulty even Mr. Phillips could retain a hearing, and that it is not by any means the first time that meetings of the Society have had to adjourn under similar circumstances, although the gentleman spoken of did not attempt to gain a hearing. If I remember right, the demonstration in Castle Garden was so great that even Kossuth could not gain a hearing. Whether the Union Committee took the same steps to drown his voice that our friends have sometimes done to drown that of the gentleman spoken of, admits of a question I have heard of such things. Certain facts and truths are not welcome to either Abolitionists or Hunker Whigs. I am sorry to say it, but it is true. But enough.

A few words to Mr. Rantoul, to Mr. Bryant, of the *Evening Post*, and to the members of the Democratic Party of the State of New York, and also to the working men of your State. Let me ask, do they mean to give up the idea that the General Government can enter any State in this Union to liberate any man, or body of men, who may be illegally held in restraint, in violation of any express provision of the Constitution? Have the people no American citizenship? and do their liberties depend solely on State authority? Can a State do what it will with its inhabitants without any let or hindrance from the General Government? for that is the Democratic doctrine, if I understand it, as promulgated in the late speech of the Hon. Mr. Rantoul. In other words, it is the non-intervention doctrine, as regards the different States of this Union in their relations towards one another and the Government at Washington. Mr. Rantoul says, "The Democratic issue is, that you take your stand firmly upon the Constitution, and say the Constitution does not allow, does not justify the Federal Government in touching the institution of *Slavery, and the extradition of slaves must be left to the States.*" And further on he says, "That clause no more (speaking of the 3d section of the 4th article) allows the United States Government to enact a law for the rendition of runaway slaves, to employ its officers for the rendition of slaves, than it would allow this Congress to enact a law to send its officers into the port of Charleston to rescue free men of colour seized there and sold as slaves because they cannot pay their jail fees." That is to say, if I understand him, there is no principle in the Constitution that would justify the judiciary to declare all such laws, passed by South Carolina, imprisoning men of colour, and afterwards selling them into Slavery, having committed no crime but that of coming within her jurisdiction, null and void. Now, is this so?

Before I begin, let me say, I thank Mr. Rantoul, from the bottom of my heart, for his two noble speeches, and that he has brought out the lights and shadows of his subject in so clear and noble a manner, and that, in finding fault with the above positions, let me assure him it is not in any captious spirit, but to arrive at the truth.

Some time ago, I wrote to John P. Hale, and, in that letter, stated to him, if it was not for the shame of the thing, it was amusing to see how blank a man's countenance appeared when you asked him what constituted him a *free American citizen?* and to witness how utterly at fault they were on the subject. And yet I cannot but think that as soon as a man can understand how to answer that question, he would never have made the assertions Mr. Rantoul has done in the above paragraph; or even let Mr. Rantoul be imprisoned in Charleston, simply on account of his colour, as many have been, I think it would not take him long to find out some means by which the Federal Government could interfere in his behalf. He would, I think, cast about him and see if there was not some clause in the Constitution that might be made applicable to his case, and that this free government of ours was not a stupendous humbug, possessing no power for good. if it saw fit to act.

Under the confederacy, it might have been so; it was so. But when these United States framed a more perfect Union for the promotion of *justice*, the *general welfare*, and for the securing of *liberty* to *ourselves* and *our posterity*, they took steps to secure that liberty; they did not leave it to chance, neither did they leave their work to be done by the States. They put the law down in black and white, so that he that runneth might read. Slavery has made such a confusion of tongues, and thrown dust so long, that all language upon the subject is confused, and no one seems to be able to see. I know the Democrats made great ado about State rights at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, and I would be as great a stickler for them as any one, and hope the States will have independence enough to resist the encroachment made upon their rights, and not let a fugitive from Slavery be returned, but will protect its people to the extent of their ability. It was for justice and for liberty the Federal Government was framed, not for Slavery; and when this General Government presumes to depart one iota from these principles, I trust the States will put in their veto and prevent it. Now the people who framed the Constitution said, "that the privelege of the writ of *habeas corpus* should not be suspended, saving in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety required it." They did not say it should not be suspended in their forts, their arsenals, or on their public lands; but that it should not be suspended any where, whatever might be the laws of any of the States on the subject; for they made the Constitution the supreme law of the land, anything in the laws or constitution of the States notwithstanding. What is the privelege of the writ of *habeas corpus?* If I understand it, it is that every man should have a right to his life, his liberty, and the products of his labour, unless he has committed crime; at least, this is what the books on English law state to be the facts. And further, the Constitution says that no person shall be seized in his person, horses, papers and effects, without *probable cause*. Now, is it not perfectly competent for any person, in any one of the States, to appeal to the decision of the United States Court, if their rights are, without probable cause, taken from them? And is it not competent for Congress to pass laws to bring about the liberty of a man, in pursuance of the above clauses of the Constitution? And are they not bound to do it when any State refuses to do so? The only justification I can find in the Fugitive Slave Law is, that it may teach the American people how to bring about a law that would secure the freedom of every man in the land. Let the judges be fined if they refuse to grant the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* to whomsoever might apply for it, and the marshals fined if they did not render suitable service in the premises, and my word for it, the slaveholder would sing a different tune from what he now does; and no man in the country but would be able to answer the question what constituted him a free American citizen. To secure the operation of this writ, the English people had to form their juries.

What I want to ask of Mr. Bryant and the Democratic working men of New York is this: is it not time for us to act on this subject? Can we afford to wait much longer? The Catholics are buying up large tracts of land, or perhaps I should rather say, they are buying such lots as are most eligible for future profit; their priests are collecting from their flocks, large sums of money. Jesuits, in great numbers, are coming to this country. The slaveholders instead of calling Slavery a curse, pronounce it a blessing, and in order to get the supremacy are constantly sending out their marauding expeditions to annex new territory for slave purposes; and is there any other way to prevent such but by adopting the principle and carrying it into effect, that the whole thing is in violation of the first principles of our Government, and that a man cannot legally be held as a slave anywhere under our Constitution?

But I must stop. If I extend this any further, I am afraid you will not publish any of it, and nobody will read it.

Yours truly,

G. W. F. Mellen.

XXXIId CONGRESS.....First Session.

We make such extracts from the debates of the pas week as we think will be of interest to our readers:

Senate.....Washington, March 16.

THE IOWA LAND BILL.

Mr. Sumner addressed the Senate in favour of his course on the bill; and by reading extracts from the journal, showing that the Massachusetts delegation had always voted for such bills.

Mr. Underwood proposed an amendment, which, after debate, was rejected.

The bill was reported to the Senate.

Mr. Seward moved an amendment, striking out the road from Dubuque to Keokuk, and providing for branches to run from Fort des Moines to Burlington.

Mr. Jones hoped the amendment would not be adopted.

Mr. Cass said the bill had been examined by the committee, and the roads proposed had been considered. If a new road was to be made, it ought to be passed upon by the committee

Mr. Dodge said that, with a slight modification, the amendment could be made to provide for an additional road from Des Moines to Burlington, but he opposed any change of the two roads now provided for in the bill. They run—one north and south, and the other east and west. Iowa was a Union State, and desired to be united with the States of the north, south, east and west; if, however, the Senate decided to aid the other road, which would only require the grant of 300,000 acres of land, the State was not too modest to accept it.

Mr. Hale said he hoped that the amendment would be modified so as to give Iowa the other road, inasmuch as it would only require 300,000 additional acres to be given away. He thought it likely more than that would be given away hereafter, and to do it now would be a great saving in time and money. This bill had occupied six weeks, and unless the additional land was given now, more time would be consumed hereafter.

As to the suggestion that the Union was to be bound by these roads, he thought, from the remarks of the Honourable Senator from Arkansas yesterday, that all the old legitimate issues had been disposed of, and the perpetuity of the Union depended solely on the stability of the foundation of the wings of the capitol. He was not in his seat when the vote was taken on the amendment, and he had been requested to pair off with one of the Senators from Indiana. He had not made up his mind on the subject, and in his state of doubting, he had come to the conclusion, as both the senators from Indiana were absent, he would pair off with both of them (laughter).

Mr. Borland would say to the Senator from New Hampshire, that, as he stated yesterday, he had kicked the free soil out of the foundation of the capitol, with his foot, and it would appear from the news of the day, that the people of New Hampshire were disposed to act in the same manner with their free soil representatives in the Senate.

Mr. Hale said he had not a word to say about the taste which prompted the personal remark of the Senator; but it had been the fate of free soil, when it could not be met with reason, argument, or intelligence, to be put down by such means. Boots were a great argument against free soil, and were always resorted to by its opponents. But the senator had also said that, as soon as he had with his boot kicked the free soil out of the foundation, there were men, who, with fresh material and trowel, came and pointed up the places disturbed by the senator's boot—so with the free soilers, there would be pointers always at work to repair and fill up any breaches made by their opponents.

The Senate might perhaps lose his services, as they had already lost those of the honourable Senator from Mississippi, (Mr. Foote). That Senator, on one occasion, said that he expected one day to pass upon him, in Mississippi, in some judicial capacity. Now the Honourable Senator (Mr. Foote), had no occasion to condemn him in Mississippi, but had been his death in New Hampshire. The people of New Hampshire said that as Mr. Foote was no longer in the Senate, there was no further use in having him (Mr. Hale) there (great laughter).

Mr. Borland disclaimed having any intention of making unkind remarks upon the Senator.

Mr. Seward's amendment was then lost.

Mr. Davis offered verbal amendments, which were adopted.

Mr. Grier offered an amendment that reserved sections should not be subject to private entry, till after having been offered at public sale. Adopted—yeas 33, nays 6.

Mr. Davis said he would vote for this bill, but was not to be understood by so doing as committed to vote for the various similar bills now pending, by which over thirty millions of acres of public land was granted in like manner.

Messrs. Douglas, Davis, and Rhett continued the debate upon the merits of the contract made by Illinois with the company with whom that State has contracted for the construction of the Central Railroad from Cairo to Chicago.

The question was then taken, and the bill was ordered to be engrossed without a count, when, on motion, the Senate adjourned.

House.....Washington, March 16.

DEFICIENCIES OF APPROPRIATIONS.

The House went into Committee of the Whole, on the State of the Union, and took up the bill for supplying deficiencies in the appropriations for the year ending June, 1853.

Mr. Hillyer resumed: He had no objection to excuse the gentleman from Virginia; but the same principles and opinions have been avowed by other gentlemen. He was proud to say that, instead of the Union party of Georgia being composed of factions of all parties, there was not in it one Abolitionist or Free Soiler, or one tariff man for protection; nor, so far as he knew, one bank, or internal improvement man. But all within this mighty party are for a strict construction of the constitution and the rights of the State. They are an unit.

He then defended the Union party of Georgia, and traced the history of its organization, which he insisted was founded on necessity, against those who favoured secession. He saw no objection to their sending delegates to the Baltimore Convention, as ambassadors, to see that the Convention plant themselves on the basis of the Union party.

In the course of his remarks, he said, the Union party cannot act with the whigs.

Mr. Giddings said the people of the north hold themselves exempt from the crimes and expenses of Slavery. If it has blessings, they belong to the south; if curses, the same ownership. The north says: "Stand back! you shall not involve us with the guilt and expense of Slavery." He was sorry to hear the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. Hillyer) boast of the good prices of negro flesh, and surprised that he should endeavour to throw ridicule on the laws of the Old Bay State. In this city there are men who are breeding men and women for the market, and by profit of the trade sustain themselves in wealth—and this, too, under the United States law. By sustaining the compromise measures, this kind of breeding is continued. He understood that the Compromise maintains the slave trade and the crime which attends it. He wished to know of any northern man whether he will sustain a law which supports yonder barracoons? Is there a whig of the north who will say he is in favour of maintaining the slave trade in this district? No, he would assure gentlemen of the south that no northern man would dare so to avow himself. One of the objects of the Compromise was to maintain the traffic in slaves; and he declared that he would continue to make unceasing war against the slave trade in the territories and coastwise. His speech occupied an hour.

Mr. Jackson (Ga) addressed the Committee to defend his own course, and that of the Southern Rights' party, one of whose representatives he had the honour to be. He said that he never had felt the first desire to see the Union dissolved. He also spoke an hour.

The Committee then rose; when

Mr. Houston said it must be evident to the House that all the debate, pertinent to the bill, must be made under the five minutes rule. In the discussion to-day, no allusion whatever had been made to the bill. He therefore proposed to submit a resolution to close the general debate to-morrow afternoon, at 4 o'clock.

Without taking the question on the resolution, the House adjourned.

House.....Washington, March 18, 1852.

THE DEFICIENCY BILL.

The House then went into Committee of the Whole on the bill supplying deficiencies in the appropriations for the present fiscal year.

SPEECH OF MR. SMITH.

Mr. Smith said—The prominent idea in this House for the last two days, is the confusion of the Democratic party. If this confusion really exists, how is the confusion to be quieted? He did not admit the force of the force of the suggestion as to the extent of the confusion. He believed the great body of the party was never more quiet and composed. He believed that the confusion exists here, and nowhere else, and arises out of a few party leaders, almost insane with ambition, and their adherents.

Ever since the Democratic party had adopted the convention system, this confusion has existed, and will exist as long as the personal controversies between the candidates are brought before the convention. If the party wants to be successful, it is its duty to so direct its efforts as to sustain their power. It is to be done by votes to be given on the great questions before Congress, involving the fate, the money, and the morality of the country. He held the great principle, that the majority party are responsible to the people. Every administration of party makes or destroys itself.

Mr. Smith alluded to the census printing, and congratulated the House that they did not give it to a party press, the *Union*. If the census shall be printed according to the plan of the Secretary of the Interior, it will cost fourteen hundred thousand dollars, out of which profits will accrue to the amount of eight hundred thousand dollars. He objected to paying a party organ out of the public treasury. He showed the uselessness of printing some parts of the census reports, and said he could put all that was desired of it in a space twice the size of the American Almanac, at an expense of forty thousand dollars for one hundred thousand copies. He repudiated as cruel and ungenerous the term Old Fogies, as applied to those who have rendered efficient service in the field and in politics. Having vigorously sustained Mr. Cass in 1848, he now wanted to raise a new banner with a new candidate. When an old man has been defeated, he ought to give way for a new name and young blood. He took it for granted that the great body of the democracy are not bringing Mr. Cass out. But it is due to Mr. Cass's own dignity that he should retire. To nurse an old man four years is long enough. It is the duty of Mr. Cass's friends to advise him to retire (laughter). He should not be deceived by appearances. He is evidently in the decline of life, not intellectually, but glory, like all other things, passes away; he should therefore quit.

Mr. Smith said he would ask the young men of the country whether they are still willing to hold the milk bottle to the lips of second childhood (excessive laughter). Is it the duty of the young men of this age to nurse the old ones? For himself he was willing to quit (cries, good, good). He did not wish to be understood as making a "Douglass speech." Kentucky has more great men than General Butler. Georgia has a distinguished young man—Mr. Cobb. And he (Mr. Smith) declared here, in his place, that he had not made up his mind as to whom he would support. And wound up with an exhortation to Young America to assert their rights.

Mr. Nabers would ask the gentleman from Alabama exactly what he means by Young America. It either means nothing at all, or something bad. He wished to know the difference between Messrs. Buchanan, Cass or Butler, with regard to progress, and the opinion of Young America as to progress.

Mr. Smith—I reply with pleasure. I think I have made myself perfectly understood by the House, and don't wish to be dragged into a quarrel as to men.

Mr. Nabers—"Be short."

Mr. Smith—I have nothing to say of Mr. Buchanan as a man, but I don't wish to include him in Young America.

Mr. Nabers—I wish to know whether Young America includes in its principles a change in the long-established policy of the Government?

Mr. Smith—I say, yes, but not in a manner of promotion. I want the young men to come in and share equally with the old ones. That may be bad.

Mr. Nabers—The steady, reflecting and sober men of the country, look at the matter properly, and wish to nip the mischief in the bud, which in the end may involve our country in very serious difficulties. It strikes me that the speech of the gentleman would cover all of Kossuth's affairs, non-intervention and all. A wonderful change has come over the gentleman within the last few months. Does Young America propose a universal republic? I think Young America means that, or nothing else If young America comes to the conclusion that the world is now prepared for freedom, that is enough to put me against Young America, although the gentleman included me in Young America. It would be with extreme reluctance that I would support for President any man endorsed by Young America.

I believe it is intended to involve the country in a serious departure from the Constitution, and divert us from the path in which our fathers trod; and they will have to explain very clearly, before they get my vote. As to the late exciting scenes in Mississippi, there were politicians on both sides for resistance, but the people were opposed to it. If the Baltimore Convention should nominate a sound man—such as Mr. Butler or Mr. Cass—he would sustain him, or any other man who frankly and honestly avows his principles, so that the world may understand them. He concluded his remarks with an eulogium on the Union.

Mr. Marshall, of Ky., replied to the remarks of Mr. Breckenridge. Although Gen. Butler's opinions differed from his, he had no doubt they were sincerely entertained; and Gen. Butler would never stoop to deceit. Gen. Butler was his neighbour, and he had known him for twenty years. He believed him to be a straightforward man, of pure private life, and whose honesty is beyond reproach. His colleague (Mr. Breckenridge) not content with vindicating Gen. Butler, had thought proper to run a parallel between Mr. Fillmore and Gen. Butler, while both were in Congress, as to their votes on Abolition petitions.

Mr. Marshall proceeded in defence of Mr. Fillmore.

Mr. Johnson, of Arkansas, occupied a short time in complaining that the House, by its hasty action, had precluded him from explaining the items in the Deficiency bill, connected with the Indian Department. (There appears to be a general consent that he should have time to-morrow for this purpose). And, on motion, the House adjourned.

Miscellaneous News.

MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Twentieth Annual Report, presented to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, by its Board of Managers, Jan. 28, 1852. With an Appendix. P. 116.

Few of our readers need to be told that the Society whose Report is now before us, is the oldest association formed in the United States, for the Abolition of Slavery, upon the principle of Immediate Emancipation; and from it, in the words of the Report itself, "have sprung the American Anti-Slavery Society and all its numerous auxiliaries." The Report is in error, however, in stating that it has been in existence twenty-one years, for it was formed not in 1831, as that statement would imply, but in 1832. It has completed its second decade, and will be *of age* on the first of January, 1853.

How vivid is our recollection of the circumstances under which that Society was launched upon the Sea of Public Opinion, with the flag of Immediate Emancipation waving proudly at its mast head! Well do we remember who laid its keel, in 'what a forge and what a heat' its stronger than iron braces were wrought, who were the intrepid crew by whom its snowy sails were set, and who the brave pilot under whose skilful guidance it has for twenty years braved the fierce tempests and been kept clear of every rock and shoal. Nor have we forgotten the shout of derision by which that ark of our country's dearest hopes, of its very salvation even, was greeted by the men who at that time occupied the chief seats in the Church and in the halls of State. It was regarded as little short of an outrage upon the dignity, an irreverent impeachment of the character, of the reputed wise men of that day, for a dozen obscure individuals, rallying at the call of an untitled mechanic, to fling out upon the breeze a banner inscribed with sentiments so fanatical, as those of the inherent sinfulness of Slavery, and the right of the slave to immediate freedom! The clergy were especially indignant that a 'few hot-headed young men, with more blood than brains,' should presume to organize a benevolent Society without their co-operation and without so much as asking their leave. Political journals poured out their ridicule without stint, and the so-called religious papers uttered their sepulchral wailings over our apostacy from the gospel of Gradualism and Expediency.

It may be interesting to young Abolitionists to be informed of the leading incident connected with the formation of that Society, while to those who are older the retrospect may not be unprofitable. We lament our incapacity to write as it ought to be written so important a chapter of Anti-Slavery history, but perhaps a poor sketch may be better than none.

The *Liberator* was commenced by William Lloyd Garrison and Isaac Knapp, on the first of January, 1831. The New England Anti-Slavery Society (afterwards changed to the *Massachusetts* Anti-Slavery Society, in consequence of the formation of Societies representing other portions of New England), was organized one year thereafter, and was one of the first-fruits of the moral agitation which the *Liberator* so effectually set on foot. The persons who formed it were those whom Mr. Garrison had drawn around him in Boston and vicinity during that first year of the existence of his paper. A preliminary meeting was held at the office of Samuel E. Sewall, Esq., in State Street, on the evening of the 16th of December, 1831, when it was concluded that such a Society should be organized, and a Committee was appointed, of which William J. Snelling, Esq., was Chairman, to draft a Constitution to be reported on the first of January, to which time the meeting adjourned. The next meeting was held at the appointed time, when the Committee on the Constitution reported, and their report, with the exception, we believe, of the preamble, was adopted. Some difference of opinion arising in respect to the latter, an adjournment took place to the 6th of January. On the evening of that day the little band assembled in the room underneath the Coloured Baptist Church in Belknap street. The night was dark and rainy, and but few persons were present. David Lee Child was appointed Chairman, and, if we are not mistaken, Joshua Coffin was Secretary. The views of all present were harmonious, except upon a single point, and that was as to the expediency of incorporating into the Constitution of the new Society the principle of Immediate Emancipation. The principle was thus set forth in the Constitution as reported:

"We, the undersigned, hold that every person of full age and sane mind has a right to *immediate freedom* from personal bondage of whatever kind, unless imposed by the sentence of the law for the commission of some crime. We hold that man cannot, consistently with reason, religion and the immutable principles of justice, be the property of man. We hold that whoever retains his fellow man in bondage is guilty of a grievous wrong."

That Mr. Garrison was for adopting this plain declaration of the great principles which he had so eloquently enforced in the columns of the *Liberator*, and thus committing the Society at its very outset to what he conceived to be the *sine qua non* of genuine Anti-Slavery, it is scarcely necessary to say. Most of the company heartily agreed with him, but there were at least three individuals who contended with great earnestness that it would be unwise to commit the Society to a doctrine which, though perfectly true, was yet regarded by the community as extravagant and even fanatical. Some of our readers will be surprised when we tell them the names of the men who thought it inexpedient to avow the principle which has proved the very sheet-anchor of the cause. They were David Lee Child, Ellis Gray Loring and Samuel E. Sewall. The social position of these men was very high, while the rest of us had little to sacrifice by the widest publication of our sentiments. The contest was a sharp one—to say the truth, it was somewhat acrimonious—but when the question was taken a majority voted for the adoption of the preamble, and the Constitution was thereupon offered for signatures. It was signed by twelve men, as follows:

Benjamin C. Bacon,	Oliver Johnson,
Arnold Buffum,	Isaac Knapp,
Joshua Coffin,	Stillman B. Newcomb,
John E. Fuller,	William J. Snelling,
William Lloyd Garrison,	Henry K. Stockton,
Robert B. Hall,	Moses Thacher,

Of these twelve, two—Isaac Knapp and Henry K. Stockton—we know are dead, and our impression is that Wm. J. Snelling is also deceased. The others, for aught that we know to the contrary, are still living; but one, (Robert B. Hall,) made shipwreck alike of his Anti-Slavery faith and of his moral character, and if alive at all, is dead while he lives, or worse. It seems inevitable that every band of reformers should have a Judas!

Soon after this, several others joined the Society, among whom were Samuel E. Sewall, James C. Odiorne, Alonzo Lewis, Abijah Blanchard, John Cutts Smith, and Michael H. Simpson. At a subsequent meeting the following gentlemen were elected officers of the Society:

President, Arnold Buffum. Vice Presidents, James C. Odiorne, Alonzo Lewis. Corresponding Secretary, William Lloyd Garrison. Recording Secretary, Joshua Coffin. Treasurer, Michael H. Simpson. Councillors, Moses Thacher, John E. Fuller, Oliver Johnson, Robert B. Hall, Benjamin C. Bacon, John Stimpson.

We ought to add, that Messrs. Child and Loring were not long in coming to a determination to co-operate with the Society, notwithstanding the difference of sentiment which prevented their signing the Constitution at the time it was formed. Their labours in the cause have been in the highest degree serviceable, and we doubt not they smile whenever they remember how strenuously they contended against the insertion in the Constitution of the principle of Immediateism, though they were firm believers in that principle themselves from the very start. That men of so much sagacity, and who had given so many proofs of their hearty interest in the cause, should have deemed the expression, "whoever retains his fellow-man in bondage is guilty of a grievous wrong," harsh and uncharitable, seem almost incredible, now, after the light which has been shed upon the question by the discussions of the last twenty years. But so it was. Never can we forget the unyielding earnestness with which Mr. Garrison contended for the principles which he so clearly saw were vital, and without whose life-giving power the movement must have been abortive. In that early contest he exhibited those qualities of head and heart, that clear-sightedness and courage, that fidelity to his own deepest convictions, and that disregard of persons where principle was at stake, which have characterized his whole career and won for him so large a measure of the love and confidence of the friends of the cause, and of the respect even of its enemies. Messrs. Child, Loring and Sewall were all men of influence; Mr. Garrison respected them highly, and was very anxious to secure their co-operation; but he would not compromise even by a hair's breadth the great principles which he so clearly saw were necessary to the life of the organization. How completely the experience of the last twenty years has vindicated the sagacity and the wisdom of his course it is unnecessary to say, since the truth must be apparent to all. If he had faltered at that hour, and, for the sake of winning the support of men of influence, consented to ignore the doctrine of Immediate Emancipation, no one can estimate the evils which must have resulted from so unfortunate a lapse.

Notwithstanding the number of persons who signed the Constitution was so small—in spite of the discouraging effect of the division of sentiment above alluded to, and although he well knew how feeble were the resources which the new Society had at its command, Mr. Garrison felt that the step thus taken would lead to grand results. With a courage inspired by his own devotion, an enthusiasm that glowed like

"The electric flame Prometheus stole
From the defrauded Godhead,"

and a calm faith in whose steady light all obstacles vanished, he predicted the consequences which would follow a movement that seemed to the dull apprehension of the unthinking multitude scarcely worthy of the contemptuous smile or the derisive laugh with which they greeted it. "We have met to-night," said he, "in this obscure school-house; our numbers are few and our influence limited; but mark my prediction: Faneuil Hall shall ere long echo with the principles we have set forth—WE SHALL SHAKE THE NATION BY THEIR MIGHTY POWER!" As he uttered these prophetic words, his face bespoke a

"Rapture like the throb that tells the birth of
Thought."

What mattered it that the number of those who had given that Thought a welcome was few and their influence insignificant; that the storm raged without and division within; that the Society for whose formation he had laboured for so many months would be greeted only by supercilious sneers and frozen glances; he knew that it stood upon the Everlasting Rock, and would abide the fierce tempest of hostile opinions, and that ere long its efforts to arouse the people to a sense of their guilt in enslaving millions of God's immortal children would be attended with success.

How the prediction of Mr. Garrison has been fulfilled, let the history of the Anti-Slavery Movement for the last twenty years tell. We doubt if the annals of benevolent associations can furnish a parallel to the mighty growth of that Movement. It found the nation in a lethargy so profound that nothing short of the Archangel's Trump seemed likely to arouse it to consciousness; but the sleeper is now awake, and though he raves and foams like a leviathan, and vents his anger upon those who have broken his slumbers, neither the opiates of the Church nor the sedative appliances of the political doctors avail to give him rest. In the words of Garrison, "Hereafter there is to be no 'peace—no cessation of revolutionary movements, until unjust rule be at an end; until personal thraldom 'be broken; until knowledge be diffused as freely as 'sunlight, and be as readily inhaled by all classes of 'the people as the vital atmosphere; until all labour 'be voluntary, receive its just remuneration, be protected in its own earnings, be a crown of honour and 'not a mark of servitude; until, in short, freedom of 'thought and speech and writing—freedom of choice—'freedom of action—be not only the inalienable right, 'but the positive exercise, of every rational creature. 'The spirit of Liberty is no longer young and feeble—'it is no longer to make an abortive struggle and then 'be passive for years; from revolutionizing neighbourhoods, it is going on to revolutionize nations. Instead 'of agitating kingdoms as formerly, it is now shaking 'the world."

—We have left ourselves no room to speak as it deserves of the Report whose appearance on our table has led us to unfold this interesting chapter of Anti-Slavery History. We shall show our appreciation of it, however, by liberal quotations from its pages. We have often regretted that its author did not become an Abolitionist early enough to qualify him to be the contemporaneous historian of the first as he has been of the later periods of the Anti-Slavery Movement.—*Penn a. Freeman.*

Gov. Seymour of Connecticut, has set apart Friday the 9th of April, as a day of Fasting and Prayer.

——Famine is prevailing to a considerable extent in Carroll County, Ga. Hundreds of families are almost without provisions, and destitute of the means of supplying themselves. Other counties are similarly affected. Short crops for the past two seasons are alleged as the cause of this privation.

——Henry Clay Medal.—The carpet bag containing the gold medal intended for presentation to the Hon. Henry Clay, which was stolen from the carriage of Mr. Charles Butler, of No. 13 East Fourteenth street, on Saturday last, was found about six o'clock on Monday morning, by Mr. White, of No. 38 McDougal street, lying under a milk cart which was standing in front of No. 56 of the same street. The bag had been forced open and the contents carried off. No clue to the medal or thief has as yet been obtained.

——The Essex County *Freeman* says, "Mr. Rantoul is the ablest Democrat in Congress, and he has the principles of a *true* Democracy in him, not of the bogus Ben Hallett stamp." But Ben Hallett has Rantoul's *stamp on him*, and will wear it to the day of his death, adds the *Boston Commonwealth*.

——A Resident of Texas informs us, that it has been observed that the wolves in that region, preying upon dead bodies, show a manifest aversion to making a meal of a Mexican. "If they can get an Indian, a native of the United States, or a European," such are his words, "they will not touch a Mexican. The Mexicans are great devourers of red-pepper, and the wolves find them too highly seasoned for their taste."—*Evening Post.*

——The Wonder of the World.—The following notice, which was handed to a job printer, as copy for posters, is one of the spells we read of.—*Springfield Republican.*

Northampton feberey the 2 1852.

Notis. by devine permishon thir will be a etheopen woman to preach a sirment on the benefit of the tryed donner of salvation to all men and after which tim thir will be a small comscert of sacret songs of sion song by two Ladies after devine sirves. The etheopen Women that will delivir that descors is Countod the Wonder of the World for satesfaction to her Hereres then com one come all the entronce will be 25 cents.

——The *Boston Medical Journal* mentions the following simple and economical apparatus for overcoming bad odors, and purifying any apartment where the air is loaded with noxious materials: Take one of any of the various kinds of glass lamps—for burning camphene, for example—and fill it with chloric ether, and light the wick. In a few minutes the object will be accomplished. In dissecting rooms, in the damp, deep vaults where vegetables are sometimes stored, or where drains allow the escape of offensive gases, in out-buildings, and in short in any spot where it is desirable to purify the atmosphere, burn one of these lamps. One tube, charged with a wick is sufficient.

——Not long since a marriage took place at Skaneateles in this State, rather out of the ordinary line, but still perfectly legal. The parties were Mr. Samuel Sellers and Miss Sarah Abbot. The ceremony is thus described by an eye-witness. After giving his views in a brief speech, Mr. Sellers took his bride by the hand and said:

"In the presence of all who are present, I take Sarah Abbot to be my wife, making no promises of continued affection, and invoking no aid thereto, but hoping, trusting, believing, that our characters are sufficiently well adapted to enable us to be to each other faithful and affectionate husband and wife during our lives."

Miss Abbot then said:

"In the presence of all who are present, I take Samuel Sellers to be my husband, making no promises, but hoping, trusting, and believing that our characters are sufficiently well adaped to each other to enable us to be faithful husband and wife while we live."

They then signed a paper with their declaration of being husband and wife, and the company present signed a certificate as witness to the ceremony and thus they became husband and wife.—*N. Y. Cour. & Enquirer.*

——Murder and Lynch Law.—We learn from the *Grenada* (Miss.) *Republican* of a case of murder and lynch law which occurred recently near that place. A Mr. Bingham, residing near Grenada, was missing. A party of ten or fifteen citizens, supposing that he had been thrown from his horse, and either killed or disabled, repaired, so soon as the news was made known, to his farm, and searched the woods for a considerable distance around, but without making any discoveries tending in the least to solve the mystery of his absence. After another search suspicion was directed to some of his own slaves. Most of them denied any knowledge of the cause of their master's absence, but one was finally induced to disclose the whole affair, and conducted the party having them in charge to the place where the body was concealed. The others then corroborated his statement as to all the material facts. It appears from this confession that a conspiracy to murder the deceased had been entered into by all the slaves, (three of his own and one hired slave,) several weeks prior to the commission of the act. On Sunday night, the 22d ult., they accomplished their design as Mr. B. was entering his smoke house after supper, for the purpose of giving them their rations. As he was unlocking the door one of the negro men struck him a stunning blow on the back of the head with a club, the other immediately jumped upon him and grasped his hands, and the negro woman secured his feet, while the first caught him by the throat, and made the fourth, a young negro, bring a rope, which was fastened around his neck. By this means he was strangled until life was extinct. His body was then thrown into a neighbouring creek, and the negroes spent the remainder of the night in singing and dancing. Two of the negroes were taken into custody and a guard placed over them, but they were seized by a mob and hung. Two otherst were placed in jail.—*N. O. Picayune.*

Notices.

EIGHTEENTH

ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will be held in the city of Syracuse, on Tuesday, May 11th, at 10 o'clock, A. M., and will continue through the two following days Further particulars hereafter.

William Lloyd Garrison, Pres.

Wendell Phillips, }
Sydney H. Gay, } Secretaries.

Anti-Slavery Conventions in Western N. York.

Anti-Slavery Conventions, to be attended by S. S. Foster, Abby Kelly Foster, Sally Holley, and others, will be held in the following places:

At Canandaigua, Tuesday and Wednesday, March 30 and 31.

☞ The Convention at Williamson will commence at 1 o'clock, P. M., on the first day; the other two at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Advertisements.

CHILDREN:

THEIR HYDROPATHIC MANAGEMENT

IN HEALTH AND DISEASE.

A DESCRIPTIVE and practical work, designed as a guide for families and physicians. Illustrated with numerous cases. By Joel Shew, M. D.: 12 mo., 432 pages. Just published, by FOWLERS & WELLS, 131 Nassau street, New York, and 142 Washington street, Boston. Price $1.

"Of all the popular works by the author of this volume, we do not hesitate to say that the present is adapted to be of the widest usefulness, as it treats with so much sound judgment and skill, a subject of vital consequence to the health of the community.—*N. Y. Tribune.* 4t

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

JUST PUBLISHED, and for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 142 Nassau Street, New York:

Selections from the Writings and Speeches of William Lloyd Garrison. With an Appendix. Price, *one dollar.*

Letter to Louis Kossuth, concerning Freedom and Slavery in the United States, in behalf of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Price, *twenty-five cents:* This is an exceedingly valuable pamphlet (of 112 large octavo pages) for preservation, reference, and general circulation. It contains, besides its direct and faithful appeal to the Hungarian leader, copious laudatory extracts from the speeches of Kossuth, contrasted with the woes and horrors of Slavery, as daily witnessed at the South—numerous quotations from the eloquent and scathing speeches of Daniel O'Connell, in denunciation of American Slavery, and all its upholders and abettors, and in praise of the American Abolitionists—the replies of Daniel O'Connell and John O'Connell to the Irish Repeal Associations in the U. S., nobly spurning the bribe held out to them to be dumb on the subject of Slavery in this country—a view of the 'peculiar institution' as it exists in the District of Columbia—a thrilling account of the Nat Turner insurrection in Virginia, in 1831, with its attending barbarities—scenes in Boston, under the Fugitive Slave Law—the admirable letter of Victor Hugo, of Paris, to Maria Weston Chapman—views and declarations of Lafayette, Thomas Clarkson, Jefferson, George Thompson—Henry Clay, as a slaveholder, &c. &c. The Appendix contains Kossuth's disclaimers of any intention to meddle with Slavery, and his rebuke of Gyurman, the Hungarian editor, for declaring his opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law—letters from James Haughton and Richard D. Webb, of Dublin, and addresses of the Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society, and of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, to Kossuth—poetical appeals to the same individual—Wendell Phillips' speech, concerning the recreancy of Kossuth, delivered at the National Anti-Slavery Bazaar.

Twentieth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. With an Appendix, containing the Proceedings of the Annual Meeting, and the Speeches of Wendell Phillips made in the Melodeon and in Faneuil Hall. Price, *twenty-five cents.*

Liberty Bell for 1852.

A FEW COPIES FOR SALE,
At this Office. s12

Miscellany.

OUR SOCIETY AT CRANFORD.

[CONCLUDED.]

Miss Pole and Miss Matey wrote to me by the same post. Such a piece of news as Lord Mauleverer's visit was not to be lost on the Cranford letter-writers: they made the most of it. Miss Matey humbly apologized for writing at the same time as her sister, who was so much more capable than she to describe the honour done to Cranford; but in spite of a little bad spelling, Miss Matey's account gave me the best idea of the commotion occasioned by his lordship's visit, after it had occurred; for except the people at the Angel, the Browns, Mrs. Jamieson, and a little lad his lordship had sworn at for driving a dirty hoop against the aristocratic legs, I could not hear of any one with whom his lordship had held conversation.

My next visit to Cranford was in the summer. There had been neither births, deaths, nor marriages since I was there last. Everybody lived in the same house, and wore pretty nearly the same well-preserved, old-fashioned clothes. The greatest event was, that Miss Jenkyns had purchased a new carpet for the drawing-room. O, the busy work Miss Matey and I had in chasing the sunbeams, as they fell in an afternoon right down on this carpet through the blindless window! We spread newspapers over the places, and sat down to our book or our work; and, lo! in a quarter of an hour the sun had moved, and was blazing away on a fresh spot; and down again we went on our knees to alter the position of the newspapers. We were very busy, too, one whole morning before Miss Jenkyns gave her party, in following her directions, and in cutting out and stitching together pieces of newspaper, so as to form little paths to every chair, set for the expected visitors, lest their shoes might dirty or defile the purity of the carpet. Do you make paper paths for every guest to walk upon in London?

Captain Brown and Miss Jenkyns were not very cordial to each other. The literary dispute, of which I had seen the beginning, was a "raw," the slightest touch on which made them wince. It was the only difference of opinion they had ever had; but that difference was enough. Miss Jenkyns could not refrain from talking *at* Captain Brown; and though he did not reply, he drummed with his fingers; which action she felt and resented as very disparaging to Dr. Johnson. He was rather ostentatious in his preference of the writings of Mr. Hood; would walk through the street so absorbed in them, that he all but ran against Miss Jenkyns; and though his apologies were earnest and sincere, and though he did not, in fact, do more than startle her and himself, she owned to me she had rather he had knocked her down, if he had only been reading a higher style of literature. The poor, brave Captain! he looked older, and more worn, and his clothes were very threadbare. But he seemed as bright and cheerful as ever, unless he was asked about his daughter's health.

"She suffers a great deal, and she must suffer more; we do what we can to alleviate her pain—God's will be done!" He took off his hat at these last words. I found, from Miss Pole, that everything had been done, in fact. A medical man, of high repute in that country neighbourhood, had been sent for, and every injunction he had given was attended to, regardless of expense. Miss Pole was sure they denied themselves many things in order to make the invalid comfortable; but they never spoke about it; and as for Miss Jessie! "I really think she's an angel," said poor Miss Pole, quite overcome. "To see her way of bearing with Miss Brown's crossness, and the bright face she puts on after she has been sitting up a whole night and scolded above half of it, is quite beautiful. Yet she looks as neat and as ready to welcome the Captain at breakfast-time, as if she had been asleep in the Queen's bed all night. My dear! you could never laugh at her prim little curls or her pink bows again, if you saw her as I have done." I could only feel very penitent, and greet Miss Jessie with double respect when I met her next. She looked faded and pinched; and her lips began to quiver, as if she was very weak, when she spoke of her sister. But she brightened, and sent back the tears that were glittering in her pretty eyes, as she said:

"But, to be sure, what a town Cranford is for kinkness! I don't suppose any one has a better dinner than usual cooked, but the best part of all comes in a little covered basin for my sister. The poor people will leave their earliest vegetables at our door for her. They speak short and gruff, as if they were ashamed of it; but I am sure it often goes to my heart to see their thoughtfulness." The tears now came back and overflowed; but after a minute or two, she began to scold herself, and ended by going away, the same cheerful Miss Jessie as ever.

"But why does not this Lord Mauleverer do something for the man who saved his life?" said I.

"Why, you see, unless Captain Brown has some reason for it, he never speaks about being poor; and he walked along by his lordship, looking as happy and cheerful as a prince; and as they never call attention to their dinner by apologies, and as Miss Brown was better that day, and all seemed bright, I dare say his lordship never knew how much care there was in the back-ground. He did send game in the winter pretty often, but now he is gone abroad."

I had often occasion to notice the use that was made of fragments and small opportunities in Cranford; the rose-leaves that were gathered ere they fell, to make into a potpourrie for some one who had no garden; the little bundles of lavender-flowers sent to strew the drawers of some town-dweller, or to burn in the chamber of some invalid. Things that many would despise, and actions which it seemed scarcely worth while to perform, were all attended to in Cranford. Miss Jenkyns stuck an apple full of cloves, to be heated and smell pleasantly in Miss Brown's room; and as she put in each clove, she uttered a Johnsonian sentence. Indeed, she never could think of the Browns without talking Johnson; and, as they were seldom absent from her thoughts just then, I heard many a rolling three-piled sentence.

Captain Brown called one day to thank Miss Jenkyns for many little kindnesses, which I did not know until then that she had rendered. He had suddenly become like an old man; his deep bass voice had a quavering in it; his eyes looked dim, and the lines on his face were deep. He did not—could not—speak cheerfully of his daughter's state, but he talked with manly pious resignation, and not much. Twice over he said, "What Jessie has been to us, God only knows!" and after the second time, he got up hastily, shook hands all round without speaking, and left the room.

That afternoon we perceived little groups in the street, all listening with faces aghast to some tale or other. Miss Jenkyns wondered what could be the matter, for some time before she took the undignified step of sending Jenny out to inquire.

Jenny came back with a white face of terror. "Oh, Ma'am! oh, Miss Jenkyns, Ma'am! Captain Brown is killed by them nasty cruel railroads!" and she burst into tears. She, along with many others, had experienced the poor Captain's kindness.

"How?—where—where? Good God! Jenny, don't waste time in crying, but tell us something." Miss Matey rushed out into the street at once, and collared the man who was telling the tale.

"Come in—come to my sister at once, Miss Jenkyns, the rector's daughter. Oh, man, man! say it is not true,"—she cried, as she brought the affrighted carter, sleeking down his hair, into the drawing-room, where he stood with his wet boots on the new carpet, and no one regarded it.

"Please, mum, it is true. I seed it myself," and he shuddered at the recollection. "The Captain was a-reading some new book as he was deep in, a-waiting for the down train; and there was a little lass as wanted to came to it's mammy, and gave its sister the slip, and came toddling across the line. And he looked up sudden at the sound of the train coming, and seed the child, and he darted on the line and cotched it up, and his foot slipped, and the train came over him in no time. Oh Lord, Lord! Mum, it's quite true—and they've come over to tell his daughters. The child's safe, though, with only a bang on its shoulder, as he threw it to its mammy. Poor Captain would be glad of that, mum, would not he, God bless him!" The great rough carter puckered up his manly face, and turned away to hide his tears. I turned to Miss Jenkyns. She looked very ill, as if she were going to faint, and signed to me to open the window.

"Matilda, bring me my bonnet. I must go to those girls. God pardon me if ever I have spoken contemptuously to the Captain!"

Miss Jenkyns arrayed herself to go out, telling Miss Matilda to give the man a glass of wine. While she was away, Miss Matey and I huddled over the fire, talking in a low and awestruck voice. I know we cried quietly all the time.

Miss Jenkyns came home in a silent mood, and we durst not ask her many questions. She told us that Miss Jessie had fainted, and that she and Miss Pole had had some difficulty to bring her round; but that, as soon as she recovered, she begged one of them to go and sit with her sister.

"Dr. Colburn says she cannot live many days, and she shall be spared this shock," said Miss Jessie, shivering with feelings to which she dared not give way.

"But how can you manage, my dear?" asked Miss Jenkyns; "you cannot bear up—she must see your tears."

"God will help me—I will not give way—she was asleep when the news came; she may be asleep yet. She would be so utterly miserable, not merely at my father's death, but to think of what would become of me; she is so good to me." She looked up earnestly in their faces with her soft true eyes, and Miss Pole told Miss Jenkyns afterwards she could hardly bear it, knowing, as she did, how Miss Brown treated her sister.

However, it was settled according to Miss Jessie's wish. Miss Brown was to be told her father had been summoned to take a short journey on railway business. They had managed it in some way—Miss Jenkyns could not exactly say how. Miss Pole was to stop with Miss Jessie. Mrs. Jamieson had sent to inquire. And this was all we heard that night; and a sorrowful night it was. The next day a full account of the fatal accident was in the country paper, which Miss Jenkyns took in. Her eyes were very weak, she said, and she asked me to read it. When I came to "the gallant gentleman was deeply engaged in the perusal of Hood's Poems, which he had just received," Miss Jenkyns shook her head long and solemnly, and then sighed out, "Poor, dear, infatuated man!"

The corpse was to be taken from the station to the parish church, there to be interred. Miss Jessie had set her heart on following it to the grave; and no dissuasives could alter her resolve. Her restraint upon herself made her almost obstinate; she resisted all Miss Pole's entreaties, and Miss Jenkyn's advice. At last Miss Jenkyns gave up the point; and after a silence, which I feared portended some deep displeasure against Miss Jessie, Miss Jenkyns said she should accompany the latter to the funeral.

"It is not fit for you to go alone. It would be against both propriety and humanity were I to allow it."

Miss Jessie seemed as if she did not half like this arrangement; but her obstinacy, if she had any, had been exhausted in her determination to go to the interment. She longed, poor thing! I have no doubt, to cry alone over the grave of the dear father, to whom she had been all in all; and to give way, for one little half-hour, uninterrupted by sympathy, and unobserved by friendship. But it was not to be. That afternoon Miss Jenkyns sent out for a yard of black crape, and employed herself busily in trimming the little black silk bonnet I have spoken about. When it was finished she put it on, and looked at us for approbation—admiration she despised. I was full of sorrow, but, by one of those whimsical thoughts which come unbidden into our heads, in times of deepest grief, I no sooner saw the bonnet than I was reminded of a helmet; and in that hybrid bonnet, half-helmet, half-jockey cap, did Miss Jenkyns attend Captain Brown's funeral; and I believe supported Miss Jessie with a tender indulgent firmness which was invaluable, allowing her to weep her passionate fill before they left.

Miss Pole, Miss Matey, and I, meanwhile, attended to Miss Brown: and hard work we found it to relieve her querulous and never-ending complaints. But if we were so weary and dispirited, what must Miss Jessie have been! Yet she came back almost calm, as if she had gained a new strength. She put off her mourning dress, and came in, looking pale and gentle; thanking us each with a soft long pressure of the hand. She could even smile—a faint, sweet, wintry smile, as if to reässure us of her power to endure; but her look made our eyes fill suddenly with tears, more than if she had cried outright.

It was settled that Miss Pole was to remain with her all the watching live-long night; and that Miss Matey and I were to return in the morning to relieve them, and give Miss Jessie the opportunity for a few hours of sleep. But when the morning came, Miss Jenkyns appeared at the breakfast table, equipped in her helmet bonnet, and ordered Miss Matey to stay at home, as she meant to go and help to nurse. She was eveidently in a state of great friendly excitement, which she showed by eating her breakfast standing, and scolding the household all round.

No nursing—no energetic strong-minded woman could help Miss Brown now. There was that in the room as we entered, which was stronger than us all, and made us shrink into solemn awestruck helplessness. Miss Brown was dying. We hardly knew her voice, it was so devoid of the complaining tone we had always associated with it. Miss Jessie told me afterwards that it, and her face too, were just what they had been formerly, when her mother's death left her the young anxious head of the family, of whom only Miss Jessie survived.

She was conscious of her sister's presence, though not, I think, of ours. We stood a little behind the curtain; Miss Jessie knelt with her face near her sister's in order to catch the last soft awful whispers.

"Oh, Jessie! Jessie! How selfish I have been! God forbid me for letting you sacrifice yourself for me as you did. I have so loved you—and yet I have thought only of myself. God forgive me!"

"Hush, love! hush!" said Miss Jessie, sobbing.

"And my father! my dear, dear father! I will not complain now, if God will give me strength to be patient. But, oh, Jessie! tell my father how I longed and yearned to see him at last, and to ask his forgiveness. He can never know now how I loved him—oh! if I might but tell him, before I die, what a life of sorrow his has been, and I have done so little to cheer him!"

A light came into Miss Jessie's face. "Would it comfort you, dearest, to think that he does know—would it comfort you, love, to know that his cares, his sorrows—" Her voice quivered, but she steadied it into calmness—"Mary! he has gone before you to the place where the weary are at rest. He knows now how you love him."

A strange look, which was not distress, came over Miss Brown's face. She did not speak for some time, but then we saw her lips form the words, rather than hear the sound—"Father, mother, Harry, Archy!" then, as if it was a new idea throwing a filmy shadow over her darkening mind—"But you will be alone—Jessie!"

Miss Jessie had been feeling this all during the silence, I think; for the tears rolled down her cheeks like rain, at these words; and she could not answer at first. Then she put her hands together tight, and lifted them up, and said, but not to us—

"Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him."

In a few moments more, Miss Brown lay calm and still; never to sorrow or murmur more.

After this second funeral, Miss Jenkyns insisted that Miss Jessie should come to stay with her, rather than go back to the desolate house; which, in fact, we learned, from Miss Jessie, must now be given up, as she had not wherewithal to maintain it. She had something about twenty pounds per annum, besides the interest of the money for which the furniture would sell; but she could not live upon that; and so we talked over her qualifications for earning money.

"I can sew neatly," said she, "and I like nursing. I think, too, I could manage a house, if any one would try me as housekeeper; or I would go into a shop, as saleswoman, if they would have patience with me at first."

Miss Jenkyns declared, in an angry voice, that she would do no such thing; and talked to herself about "some people having no idea of their rank as a Captain's daughter," nearly an hour afterwards, when she brought Miss Jessie up a basin of delicately made arrow-root, and stood over her like a dragoon until the last spoonful was finished: then she disappeared. Miss Jessie began to tell me some more of the plans which had suggested themselves to her, and insensibly fell into talking of the days that were past and gone, and interested me so much, I neither knew nor heeded how time passed. We were both startled when Miss Jenkyns reappeared, and caught us crying. I was afraid lest she would be displeased, as she often said that crying hindered digestion, and I knew she wanted Miss Jessie to get strong; but, instead, she looked queer and excited, and fidgeted round us without saying anything. At last she spoke. "I have been so much startled—no, I've not been at all startled—don't mind me, my dear Miss Jessie—I've been very much surprised—in fact, I've had a caller, whom you knew once, my dear Miss Jessie———"

Miss Jessie went very white, then flushed scarlet, and looked eagerly at Miss Jenkyns—

"A gentleman, my dear, who wants to know if you would see him."

"Is it? it is not ———" stammered out Miss Jessie—and got no farther.

"This is his card," said Miss Jenkyns, giving it to Miss Jessie; and while her head was bent over it, Miss Jenkyns went through a series of winks and odd faces to me, and formed her lips into a long sentence, of which, of course, I could not understand a word.

"May he come up?" asked Miss Jenkyns, at last.

"Oh, yes! certainly!" said Miss Jessie, as much as to say, this is your house, you may show any visitor where you like. She took up some knitting of Miss Matey's, and began to be very busy, though I could see how she trembled all over.

Miss Jenkyns rang the bell, and told the servant who answered it to show Major Campbell up-stairs; and, presently, in walked a tall, frank-looking man of forty, or upwards. He shook hands with Miss Jessie; but he could not see her eyes, she kept them so fixed on the ground. Miss Jenkyns asked me if I would come and help her to tie up the preserves in the store-room; and, though Miss Jessie plucked at my gown, and even looked up at me with begging eye, I durst not refuse to go where Miss Jenkyns asked. Instead of tying up preserves in the store-room, however, we went to talk in the dining-room; and there Miss Jenkyns told me what Major Campbell had told her; how he had served in the same regiment with Captain Brown, and had become acquainted with Miss Jessie, then a sweet-looking, blooming girl of eighteen; how the acquaintance had grown into love, on his part, though it had been some years before he had spoken; how, on becoming possessed, through the will of an uncle, of a good estate in Scotland, he had offered, and been refused, though with so much agitation, and evident distress, that he was sure she was not indifferent to him; and how he had discovered that the obstacle was the fell disease which was, even then, too surely threatening her sister. She had mentioned that the surgeons foretold intense suffering: and there was no one but herself to nurse her poor Mary, or cheer and comfort her father during the time of illness. They had had long discussions; and, on her refusal to pledge herself to him as his wife, when all should be over, he had grown angry, and broken off entirely, and gone abroad, believing that she was a cold-hearted person, whom he would do well to forget. He had been travelling in the East, and was on his return home when, at Rome, he saw the account of Captain Brown's death in "Galignani."

Just then Miss Matey, who had been out all the morning, and had only lately returned to the house, burst in with a face of dismay and outraged propriety:

"Oh, goodness me!" she said, "Caroline, there's a gentleman sitting in the drawing-room, with his arm round Miss Jessie's waist!" Miss Matey's eyes looked large with terror.

Miss Jenkyns snubbed her down in an instant:

"The most proper place in the world for his arm to be in. Go away, Matilda, and mind your own business." This from her sister, who had hitherto been a model of feminine decorum, was a blow for poor Miss Matey, and with a double shock she left the room.

The last time I ever saw poor Miss Jenkyns was many years after this. Mrs. Campbell had kept up a warm and affectionate intercourse with all at Cranford. Miss Jenkyns, Miss Matey, and Miss Pole had all been to visit her, and returned with wonderful accounts of her house, her husband, her dress, and her looks. For, with happiness, something of her early bloom returned; she had been a year or two younger than we had taken her for. Her eyes were always lovely, and, as Mrs. Campbell, her dimples were not out of place. At the time to which I have referred, when I last saw Miss Jenkyns, that lady was old and feeble, and had lost something of her strong mind. Little Flora Campbell was staying with the Misses Jenkyns, and when I came in she was reading aloud to Miss Jenkyns, who lay feeble and changed on the sofa. Flora put down the Rambler when I came in.

"Ah!" said Miss Jenkyns, "you find me changed, my dear. I can't see as I used to do. If Flora were not here to read to me, I hardly know how I should get through the day. Did you ever read the Rambler? It's a wonderful book—wonderful! and the most improving reading for Flora"—(which I dare say it would have been if she could have read half the words without spelling, and could have understood the meaning of a third)—"better than that strange old book, with the queer name, poor Captain Brown was killed for reading—that book by Mr. Hood; you know—Hood—Admiral Hood; when I was a girl; but that's a long time ago—I wore a cloak with a red Hood"—she babbled on long enough for Flora to get a good long spell at "Miss Kilmansegg and her Golden Leg," which Miss Matey had left on the table.

Poor, dear Miss Jenkyns! Cranford is Man-less now.—*Dickens' Household Words.*

THE DEATH OF THOMAS MOORE, THE POET.

An event which has been long anticipated has just occurred. On Thursday last (Feb. 26), the poet Moore died at his residence of Slopeton Cottage, near Devizes. For several years back, the illustrious deceased had been alive only in the body. Like Sir Walter Scott and Southey, the tenacity of physical existence had, in him, outlived the term of the mind. A year ago the poet was brought to Bath without any consciousness of where he was, or who were around him, and he passed peacefully away in the same condition of semi-slumbering unconsciousness.

With Moore there is snapped the last tie, save perhaps one, represented by the veteran Rogers, which connects the present generation with the outburst of "all the talents" which signalized the opening of the century. That great kindling of genius—embracing almost all sides of imaginative literature, of criticism and philosophy—is fast becoming more a thing of history than a thing of fact. Day by day, and year by year, the lights are going out. Wordsworth was the last extinguished before the present event; and now, to all intents and purposes, the great mental galaxy which poured such a flood of blazing, vivifying light upon the literature of fifty years ago—which extinguished the school of Rosa Matilda fiction and Della Cruscan poetry—which substituted true criticism for technical carping upon philological points, and established new styles in every branch of the *belles-lettres*—this great intellectual constellation may now be said to have disappeared. One of the brightest, if not the largest, stars has long been obscured. It is now extinguished.

What amount and what duration of fame Moore will leave behind him, is fairly a matter of discussion. It cannot, we believe, be denied that much of his serious and more ambitious verse, founded upon the promptings of a more luscious and florid fancy than the present taste inclines to admit—and no inconsiderable portion even of his sweet lyric snatches, as being too wire-drawn and refined to attenuation—are by no means so much read or admired as they were a score or thirty years ago. A severer and a sterner school of poetry has succeeded to it—one of deeper feeling and more sober thought; and the representatives of those who revelled in "Lalla Rookh," and delighted in the strains of Mr. Little, now generally address themselves to more staid and philosophic poetic musings. The "Irish Melodies," too—exquisite as is their word-music—fanciful as is their conception—delightful is as their playfulness, and profoundly touching as is their pathos—even the "Irish Melodies," we believe to be declining in popular estimation. The reasons are not far to seek. In the first place, the "Irish Melodies" are not particularly Irish; they have perfect grace, high and sparkling fancy, delicious feeling; but they are too fine-spun to do the work-a-day duty of popular songs. As literary performances, nine-tenths of Burns' songs are inferior to Moore's; and all Dibdin's ditties are immeasurably and incalculably beneath them. Yet the strong probability is that "When Willie Brewed," and "Poor Tom Bowling," will be in the full tide of their popularity and everyday use, where "Rich and Rare," and "Oh Breathe not His Name," will be unsung and forgotten. In a certain circle, and amongst people of a certain reading and appreciation, Moore will live as long as the language; but his genius was delicate and acute rather than catholic and vast. He had a rich and vivid play of fancy, but none of the soaring imagination of a Shelley or a Byron. His mind, in fact, was a first-class second-rate. It had no pretensions to stand in the foremost line of the giants of our day. Brightly fanciful, rather than continuously imaginative—teeming with poetic imagery—loving to sparkle along the flowriest paths, and beneath the balmiest skies—revelling always in fays and flowers—in love and mingled intellectual and sensual pleasures—playful in the extreme, and always ready to stop to make mirth as joyous and as delightful as the passion—Moore's muse, in his great romantic poems, is the incarnation of a charming Epicureanism; and the mirth and playful jollity could go a long step further. Moore had wit, which sparkled as brightly as it could cut deeply; and the humour, and sense of the ludicrous, which could be as well, if not more, effectually applied to living persons and actual things than to the creations of his own fancy; and, accordingly, we find him loving to turn from the etherealized voluptuousness of the "Loves of the Angels," or the mystic imaginings of the "Epicurean," to the sharp and brilliant hitting of political and social squibs—to the restless and biting satire with which, in the "Fudge Family" and hundreds of ephemeral but not the less clever lays, he quizzed his political and literary opponents, abolished the Earl of Mountcashell, or shot stinging shafts of fun through the very heart of the Benthamites. It is, indeed, far from probable that Moore's political and satiric poetry, little, perhaps, as he thought of it at the time, will live after his more ambitious works have been—not forgotten, but sunk into that chronic state of classicism, in which books are labelled with an excellent character, and shelved—turned, in fact, into the category of works without which no gentleman's library is complete, and accordingly doomed, not to actual obscurity, but to an honourable retirement.

The very last of the political squibs and short poems published by Mr. Moore were given to the world in the columns of the *Morning Chronicle*, and referred principally to the earlier struggles of the Anti-Corn Law League—the verses having in most cases been evidently suggested by the passing political events of the day.

Thomas Moore died at the ripe old age of 72. He was born on the 28th of May, 1780, in Angier street, Dublin, where his father, a strict Roman Catholic, carried on a grocery and spirit business. As a child, young Moore is said to have been remarkable for personal beauty; but his appearance in after life hardly carried out the promise of infancy. He was short, with a heavy, expressive, but not handsome face, which, however, lightened up wonderfully when engaged in animated conversation or singing his own ballad poetry. Young Moore was educated at Dublin, and one of his first noted peculiarities was a fondness and a talent for private theatricals. Taking advantage of the boon, as it was then considered, the young Roman Catholic was entered at Trinity College. He could not, of course, obtain a degree; but some English verses tendered at an examination, in lieu of the usual Latin composition, procured a copy of the "Travels of Anacharsis" as a reward. The wild times of the Irish rebellion were now approaching, and the future poet was naturally to be found in the ranks led by the Emmetts and Arthur O'Connor; but his treasonable lucubrations in prose and verse, though, as his own sister remarked, "rather strong," were passed over without any measures being taken against the enthusiastic young champion of Irish liberty. Politics, however, were by no means the only subject of his muse. At the age of fourteen he published poetry in a Dublin magazine, and afterwards composed many semi-poetic semi-burlesque pieces for private representation.

In his twentieth year, giving up republicanism once and for ever, Moore came to London to study at the Middle Temple, and to publish his translations, or rather paraphrases, of Anacreon. As may be imagined, he attended much more to the Greek than to "Coke upon Lyttleton," and a permission, obtained through the friendship of Lord Moira, to dedicate the work to the Prince Regent, was the means of Moore's introduction to those elevated circles of society in which he was ever afterwards to move and shine. The Anacreontic paraphrases, brilliantly and warmly expressed, were highly successful. They were speedily succeeded, in 1801, by "Poems and Songs, by Thomas Little." Whatever objections may be raised by the present generation to either of these works, there can be no doubt of their vivid play of fancy, their great grace of idea, ever when that idea was not strictly proper, and their exquisite melody of versification. Moore's translations of the "Old Greek Lover," of "Women and Wine," are probably the finest and richest versions of these often translated songs in the English language—always excepting the rough but thoroughly racy version of the last of the lyrics in question by quaint old Dr. Donne.

In the days of the regency, poets came in for patronage, and Mr. Moore, made registrar to the Court of Admiralty at Bermuda—as singularly appropriate an appointment as some we have seen in our own day—went out to the islands, appointed a deputy, took a glance at the States, and came home again. He then published "Sketches of Travel and Society beyond the Atlantic"—a satiric work in heroic verse, vigorously written, but politically, miserably short-sighted. Soon afterwards, a savage review in the "Edinburgh," of a republication of "Juvenile Songs," &c., led to the celebrated recontre between Moore and Jeffrey, at Hampstead, when the great critic, as Byron asserted, stood valiantly up:

> When Little's leadless pistol met his eye,
> And Bow street myrmidons stood laughing by.

The affair was ultimately made up, mainly through the intervention of Mr. Rogers, and at his house Moore shortly afterwards made his first acquaintance with Byron and Campbell. The long and affectionate intimacy between the subject of this sketch and the author of "Childe Harolde," which resulted from the meeting, we need not stop to do more than allude to. Moore had about this time married. His wife was a Miss Dyke, a lady of strong sense and character, as well as great beauty and amiability. The last survivor of their offspring is unhappily no more.

A couple of political satires of no great note—one of them, by the way, setting forth a sober and earnest panegyric upon ignorance—were followed by the famous "Two-penny Post Bag," a bundle of rollicking satire and fun. It made a great hit, and attained a wide popularity. Not so its author's next venture, a farce called the "Blue Stocking," damned at the Lyceum. Moore's intimacy with Byron and Hunt was broken off by the perfect out-spoken tone of the "Liberal," and especially the "Vision of Judgment." Moore thought that his friends had gone too far. What would Carlton House say? For if, as Byron said, "Little Tommy dearly loved a lord," with how much more affection did he worship prince of the blood royal?

The "Melodies" were Moore's next, and perhaps his most popular, effort. Charming as these word-melodies are, exquisitely happy in their ideas and illustrations, and perfection as is their lyrical workship, we again repeat our doubt as to whether they have the intellectual stamina and the heart-rooted earnestness, both of which are requisite to make songs immortal. Mere beauty fades in words as well as in flesh, and only the strongest heart and the manliest brain produce offspring to suit all tastes and to last all time.

It was in 1812 that Moore determined to write an Indian poem. Mr. Perry, of the *Morning Chronicle*, accompanied the poet to the Messrs. Longman, and through his intervention the great sum of 3,000 guineas was settled as the price of the poem, not one word of which was as yet written. Moore then retired to Mayfield Cottage, a desolate place in Derbyshire, and after a long and hard struggle with a coquettish muse, forth—after a three years' retirement—came "Lalla Rookh." The success was immense; the poem ran rapidly through several editions, and Moore's fame stood upon a higher and surer pedestal than ever. The bright fancy and immense command of imagery of the poet were now at their climax. The tales were the triumph of poetic lusciousness; but not a few old judges stigmatized their taste by preferring Fadladeen and his criticisms, even to the Fireworshippers, or the tribulations of the Peri. We need hardly say that the judgment of these tough old critics has now a far greater number of adherents than it once commanded.

After a continental tour, Moore wrote the clever and popular "Fudge Family." In the following year he met Byron in Italy, when the latter entrusted to him his memoirs for publication. These memoirs Moore sold to Murray for two thousand guineas; but, as is well known and a good deal regretted, the purchase-money was refunded, the papers re-obtained, and destroyed. Pecuniary difficulties connected with the misconduct of his Bermuda deputy, about this time, compelled Moore to seek a temporary refuge in Paris, and there the poet led a pleasant social life, such as he loved, and composed the "Loves of the Angels," which is not much more than an elaborate and carefully wrought out repetition of all Mr. Moore's previous love and flowery poetry. The whole thing is dreamy, lulling, beautiful, but vague and misty. The words tinkle like falling fountains, and the essence of the closing poetry floats about one like perfume; but this enervating species of composition is far from being high or true poetry, and accordingly the poem is now far oftener alluded to than it is read.

In 1825 Moore paid a visit to Scott, at Abbotsford. The author of "Waverly" pronounced the Irish melodist to be the "prettiest warbler" he had ever heard. One evening Scott and his guest visited the theatre at Edinburgh. Soon after their at first unmarked entrance, the attention of the audience, which had, till then, been engrossed by the Dutchess of St. Albans, who was present, was directed towards the new comers; and, according to a newspaper report, copied and published by Mr. Moore in one of his last prefaces, considerable excitement immediately prevailed. "Eh!" exclaimed a man in the pit, "eh, yon's Sir Walter, wi' Lockhart and his wife; and wha's the wee body wi' the pawkie een? Wow, but it's Tam Moore just." "Scott, Scott!—Moore, Moore!" immediately resounded through the house. Scott would not rise; Moore did, and bowed several times, with his hand on his heart. Scott afterwards acknowledged the plaudits of his countrymen, and the orchestra, during the rest of the evening, played alternately Scotch and Irish airs.

Soon after this period, Moore was established, by the kind offices of his old and staunch friend, the Marquis of Lansdowne, in Sloperton Cottage, where he passed the remainder of his days, and where he ended them. It was here that the poet commenced his career as a biographer, and produced successively the memoirs of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, of Lord Byron, and of Sheridan. The two latter are too well known and too highly appreciated to demand more than to be alluded to here. It was in the previous year that the poet had first come out as a prose writer in the "Memoirs of Captain Rock," a bitter and unfair account of—or rather commentary on—English misgovernment of Ireland, and a curious instance of how warped and twisted become the views of even a man of the world like Moore, if he be an Irishman, in writing on an Irish subject. The next serious work of the poet—he continued his squibs and light sparkles of occasional verse, as before—was "The Travels of an Irish Gentleman in search of a Religion"—in which he sought to show that the doctrines and practises of the Roman Catholic Church date from the apostolic period. The last of Moore's prose works, and that which has attained the greater sale, we believe, than any of them, was the romance of "The Epicurean." Here Moore's style, always too rich, effloresced into clouds of tawdry rhetoric, which are only here and there redeemed by passages of great eloquence and natural feeling. There was much out-of-the-way learning in the book, but the pompous march of cumbrous ornamentation overlaid everything. The book had a great success, but one not likely to be lasting. It partook of what Mr. Carlyle calls the "wind-bag" nature. The wind inside was very highly perfumed, and sighed with very pleasing murmurs, but, after all, it was only wind, and, as such, will ooze out and away, to the collapsing of the bag and the disappearance of the "Epicurean."

Of late years, the political and social squibs to which we have alluded were the only literary occupations to which Mr. Moore devoted himself, until, gradually and fitfully, mental darkness came down upon him, and the quick and fanciful brain throbbed with thick-coming fancies no more.

Peace be with the poet! He led a long, a pleasant, and a prosperous life. His poetic genious was not of the deep, enthusiastic cast. He could write wailing stanzas over the fate of Curran's daughter on treasury paper, and become sentimental over the wrongs of Ireland while an English placeman. Universally courted and flattered in society, Moore fluttered from one brilliant coterie to the other, and was always in his most perfect element at the two great whig resorts—in Berkeley square and Kensington park. In every one of his characteristics, the poet was formed for society. A lover of pleasure, with a keen appreciation of its every refinement, intellectual, social, and sensuous, Moore must have enjoyed to the very top of his bent every gratification which the greatest popularity in the most brilliant circles could heap on him. His nature was to enjoy, to amuse, to excite, and to be amused and to be excited. Successful in almost every literary effort, accounted as brilliant a conversationalist as he was a poet, as charming a singer as he was a song writer—a privileged person in a sphere to which his mind, by its very nature, looked up with longing for notice and for praise—few men have had a career so corresponding with their wishes and their ambition as Thomas Moore.

The death of the poet coming so shortly after the setting of the public life of his good and constant friend, the Marquis of Lansdowne, is a curious and touching coincidence. The ex-Minister will lament the departure of him who was so long the lyrist and the minstrel of his party; but to Moore the world was for years uncared for and unkown, and it is better that the spirit is released than that it should linger on in the midst of melancholy and hopeless darkness.—*London Chronicle, Feb. 28.*

The following poem is one of the earliest written by Miss Barrett, but has first appeared in the recent Literary Miscellanies of Miss Mitford.

The Sea-Mew.

BY ELIZABETH BARRETT.

How joyously the young sea-mew
Lay dreaming on the waters blue,
Whereon our little bark had thrown
A forward shade, the only one
(But shadows oft will men pursue.)

Familiar with the waves, and free
As if their own white foam were he;
His heart upon the heart of ocean
Lay learning all its mystic motion,
And throbbing to the throbbing sea.

And such a brightness in his eye,
As if the ocean and the sky
Within him had lit up and nurst
A soul God gave him not at first
To comprehend their mystery.

We were not cruel, yet did sunder
His white wing from the blue waves under,
And bound it; while his fearless eyes
Looked up to ours in calm surprise,
As deeming us some ocean wonder.

We bore our ocean bird unto
A grassy place where he might view
The flower that curtsy to the bees,
The waving of the tall green trees,
The falling of the silver dew.

The flowers of earth were pale to him
Who had seen the rainbow fishes swim;
And when earth's dew around him lay
He thought of ocean's winged spray
And his eye waxed pale and dim.

The green trees round him only made
A prison, with their darksome shade;
And dropped his wing and mourned he
For his own boundless glittering sea,—
Albeit he knew not they could fade.

Then One her gladsome face did bring,
Her gentle voice's murmuring,
In ocean's stead his heart to move,
And teach him what was human love—
He thought it a strange mournful thing.

He lay down in his grief to die
(First looking to the sea-like sky
That hath no waves), because, alas!
Our human touch did on him pass,
And with our touch, our agony.

A Woman Hater.—J. G. Children, Esq. was often in the company of Cavendish, and thus refers to his interview with him. "I am now the father of the Royal Society Club. I remember Cavendish well, and have often dined at the Crown and Anchor with him. When I first became a member of the club, I recollect seeing Cavendish on one occasion, talking very earnestly to Marsden, Davy, and Hackett. I went up and joined the group, my eye caught that of Cavendish, and he instantly became silent; he did not say a word. The fact is, he saw in me a strange face, and of a strange face he had a perfect horror. . . . . He was thus to appearance a misanthrope, and still more a misogynist. He was reported among his contemporaries, indeed, to have a positive dislike to women. Lord Burlington informs me on the authority of Mr. Allnutt, an old inhabitant of Clapham, 'that Cavendish would never see a female servant; and if an *unfortunate maid ever showed herself, she was immediately dismissed.*' Lord Brougham tells us that Cavendish 'ordered his dinner daily by a note, which he left at a certain hour on the hall table, when the housekeeper was to take it, for he held no communication with his female domestics from his morbid shyness.' " . . . . . . One evening we observed a very pretty girl looking out from an upper window on the opposite side of the street, watching the philosophers at dinner. She attracted notice, and one by one we got up and mustered round the window to admire the fair one. Cavendish, who thought we were looking at the moon, bustled up to us in his odd way, and when he saw the real object of our study, turned away with intense disgust, and grunted out "Pshaw!"—*Life of the Hon. Henry Cavendish.*

Experience of Animals.—The expectation of the recurrence of an event is the impression of a former circumstance, which, from certain causes and a resemblance of certain points, we are again led to entertain and to see fulfilled; the former is caused by the memory, and the latter by the understanding; for the imagination, by a comparison of the past with the present, prepares the mind to receive a certain conclusive result. This application of experience is traceable in the lowest orders of life. The razor shell-fish buries itself deep in the sand when left by the ebbing tide, and is attracted to the surface by a little salt being dropped into its hole. A movement in the sand immediately follows, and presently half the fish becoming visible, the fisherman draws it out with an iron prong; but should he fail in seizing it, or relax his hold, the fish rapidly disappears, and will not rise again, although more salt be thrown to it. It seems thus to be aware of its danger, for it will come forth on the fresh application of salt, should it not have been touched in the first instance. Borlase says that he saw the attack of a lobster on an oyster. Lobsters, like most other crustaces, feed principally on shell-fish, which they extract with their claws, and in the instance in question the oyster closed its shell as often as the lobster attempted to insert itself; after many failures, the lobster took a small stone, which it placed between the shells as soon as they were separated, and then devoured the fish. Monkeys in the West Indies have been seen to resort to the same device. Crickets, if disturbed, withdraw quickly into their holes, and reäppear again soon; but if the disturbance be repeated, they remain altogether within them. A fox escaped from a trap in which it may have been caught, remembers the danger, and is not again to be deceived. Birds are equally suspicious. The quail which has once been enticed into the net by the call-pipe, will not allow itself to be caught again; but some, like the redbreasts and titmice, are not so readily alarmed. A wasp encumbered by the struggles of a large fly, which it had caught, bit its wings off, and then bore it away with ease; the same with a sand wasp, which attempted to draw a small moth into its hole, but being prevented by the wings of the insect, it separated them and the legs from the body, and thus secured it. Dugès saw a spider which had seized a bee by the back, and effectually prevented it from taking flight; but the legs being at liberty, it dragged the spider along, which presently suspended it by a thread from its web, leaving it to dangle in the air till it was dead, when it was drawn up and devoured. The use of experience becomes more marked and extensive with age, the higher we ascend in the scale of life. Thus old birds are not so easily approached within gun-shot as young ones; old foxes are less easily caught in traps, and old stags show more cunning. On newly-discovered islands, the birds and animals have no fear of man, and the seals and other amphibiæ do not move at his approach; but a very short experience teaches them in what their safety consists. In tracts where the art of trapping has never been practised, the animals are at first caught in numbers, but by degrees they become more wary, and the hunter is compelled to use greater stratagems. In woods which are much hunted the game is more shy and vigilant, while it seems fully to comprehend the sanctity of a preserve.—*The Passions of Animals, by E. P. Thompson.*

Franklin and the Clairvoyantes.—Professor Gregory has favoured us with the following particulars concerning clairvoyante "revelations" in regard to Sir John Franklin; the professor, however, is not to be understood as placing implicit confidence in the accuracy of the statements: "I have made repeated inquiries concerning Franklin, both in the case of Emma, at Bolton, and of another clairvoyante, who appeared to see correctly. In August last, both these clairvoyantes, unknown to each other, agreed in stating that the ships were fixed in the ice, that Sir John was alive, looking anxious and thoughtful, and that a good many of his companions had died since I had last inquired. One of the clairvoyantes (if not both) said that they had found provisions, and that some had died in consequence; either from a sudden change to full diet or from these provisions being unsound in quality, but at all events soon after finding these provisions. Whether these provisions were those left lately for them, or possibly part of the stores of Ross's old lost ships which Emma had often seen at no great distance from Franklin, I could not ascertain. From Captain Austin's account of his expedition, it would seem that Emma had seen and described his ice boats, which Dr. Haddock could not undestand. My impression from all I saw of Emma is, that she described genuine visions, probably in some cases true visions of the facts; but possibly, now and then, dreams spontaneously suggesting themselves, although I cannot be sure of this. Certainly we avoid all suggestions; and when we asked her about various matters we observed that she persisted in answers quite different from what we thought of or expected, and also refused to go further than she clearly saw. She often spoke of her own accord, of the aurora, and always as of a brilliant arch or rainbow of light, playing with beautiful colours, quite different from what is seen in our latitude. She likewise suffered from the cold every time she was tried with the writing of any one in the arctic regions, even when she did not know what writing was put into her hand. Her notion of the time seems to have been, as far as we can see, exact; and where she has been less certain, it has, I suspect, depended on her seeing various ships, while we suppose her to speak only of Franklin's. It will be remembered that in February, 1850, she saw Franklin reading prayers on a Sunday morning, and named the chapter of St. Mark which he read. It is remarkable, that the Gospel of St. Mark is read during the first part of February in the Church of England service, as will be seen by the calendar. The 13th February was Sunday in 1850, and I know it was about that period of the month Emma saw this. Now, on the 13th February, the 13th chapter of St. Mark is a morning lesson for the day. I cannot, at present, state with certainty, whether that was the chapter named by Emma, but as well as I can recollect, it was either the 13th or 14th. This is certainly remarkable, the more so, as both Emma and Dr. Haddock are Presbyterians, and she has no idea of the calendar. I have had several excellent opportunities of examining Emma since I published my "Letters," and I have also seen and repeatedly examined three other clairvoyantes, besides several whom I have only seen on one occasion; and from the results of these trials I could quote many very striking instances of clairvoyant vision, as well as of the instinct or sympathy by which they detect the bodily state of others, besides various other forms of sympathy. The more I see the more fully am I satisfied of the existence of a physical external influence, while I also admit that one large class of phenomena, those of suggestion, do not depend on that influence."—*Edinburgh Advertiser.*

Madame Hensler and Niebuhr the Historian.—Madame Hensler's relations to Neibuhr was very curious and very German. During his residence as a student at Kiel, she became a young and beautiful widow. He was an extremely young and nervous boy—though a man already in ripeness of character and in grasp of intellect; and in reference to his first interview with Dora Hensler, he wrote to his father: "I felt to a painful degree my timidity and bashfulness before ladies; however much I improve in other society, I am sure I must get worse and worse every day in their eyes." Dora's father-in-law, Dr. Hensler, was a profoundly learned man; but he was even then astonished at the bashful boy's extraordinary knowledge of the ancient world and at his faculty of historical divination. In his family circle Niebuhr was soon at home. The ladies were very kind to him—and he made the young Madame Hensler an offer of his hand. She, a pietist in religion, had made a vow at her husband's grave never to marry again, and she was disposed to keep her vow. As she could not marry Neibuhr herself, he asked her to choose a wife for him; and, after some thought, she selected her own sister Amelia. In his union with this lady Neibuhr was happy for some years. He succeeded in the world—served the State in various high offices—acquired the friendship of the first men in Germany, and through the delivery of his lectures on Roman History at Berlin, raised himself to a high place in the intellectual hierarchy of Europe. His wife died, and he again solicited Dora Hensler to accept his hand. But she adhered to her vow; and again failing in his suit, he again requested her to provide a substitute. It would seem that the vow only stood between her and himself, for she still retained him in the family. This time, she selected her cousin Gretchen, and—strange as all this seems to us—he married her. Dora's refusals do not appear therefore, to have caused any, even momentary, suspension of the friendship between Niebuhr and herself. His letters to her—ever kind, serene, affectionate—present an unbroken series. The moment he parted from her, he began to write to her regularly. In the most trying situations of his life—during the fierce bombardment of Copenhagen—amid the terrors of the flight to Riga before the victorious French—in the sickness of his first months in Italy—amid the excitement of his opening lecture session in Berlin—his letters never failed. He wrote a long epistle to her only a few days before he died. Dora Hensler must have been an extraordinary woman. Out of the highest region of men—the Goethes, the Savignys, and the Schleiermachers—Niebuhr could hardly find a man with whom he deemed frequent intercourse either profitable or endurable. The learned men of Italy, of France, and of England—with the exception of our scientific professors—were so far below his level of acquirements as to fail altogether in the interest of their conversation and correspondence; yet he wrote to Dora Hensler on nearly every subject in which his eager and wide-ranging intellect found employment. He related to her many of his thoughts on politics, finance, and diplomacy—kept her familiar with the nature of his most recondite researches into Greek and Italian antiquities—and made her the depository of his doubts and speculations in the highest regions of faith, moral, and philosophy. His letters to her are, therefore, a mine of wealth for the admirers of his genius.—*Athenæum.*

Do or Don't.—I hate to see a thing done by halves; if it be right, do it boldly; if it be wrong, leave it undone.—*Gilpin.*